FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol II No 194 *7 October 1981*

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POLISH SOLIDARITY CONGRESS DEVELOPMENTS SCORED

5 Oct Session: 'Farce'

AU052040 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 5 Oct 81

[BTA correspondent's report from Gdansk]

[Text] The second stage of the Solidarity congress entered its 10th day without adopting the main document -- the trade union program. Today the organization's financial problems were discussed. What was apparent was the striving of Solidarity leaders to secure for themselves high salaries and bonuses at the expense of the trade union's rank and file members. Until now at the congress no word has been said about the social problems of the trade union members. While discussing matters related to national culture, Solidarity addressed a provocation at Poland's socialist system. It was pointed out that the state should be neutral as far as the citizens' world view is concerned, while the Catholic Church should assume a leading position in Poland's culture and education. A thesis has been presented maintaining that Polish culture is indivisible, and therefore the anticommunist books of the political emigrants should be broadly propagated throughout the country. Solidarity proclaimed itself as the only guarantor of the free national culture.

The decision on the issues of education is another indication of the nature of the Gdansk gathering. According to it, the teaching of Marxism-Leninism in Poland's schools should be stopped and a way should be found to propagate nationalist and antisocialist theories. The decision envisages the creation of independent private schools and schools placed under Solidarity's control and ideological influence.

These two decisions as well as many other decisions on the role of the press, radio and television adopted during the congress' first and second stages, clearly reveal the Solidarity leaders' intentions to usurp not only the economic basis but also the superstructure of the socialist system.

At a press conference which took place at the Oliwia Hall, the antigovernment, anti-Soviet and anticommunist statements of the leaders of the independent trade union continued.

The second and third round of electing the Solidarity's leading organs continued. No one among the congress' organizers could estimate when this farce is finally going to end.

'Anti-Socialist' Program

AU062046 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 81

[BTA correspondent's report from Gdansk]

[Text] The struggle to distribute the posts and salaries at the Solidarity gathering is approaching the end. Observers have the impression that this was one of the main reasons that the delegates came to Gdansk. The morning session fully confirms this impression. A decision on the trade union financial policy was adopted. It determines the salaries of the responsible cadres of the Solidarity trade union. According to the decision, the chairmen of the organization's regional leaderships have obtained ministerial salaries for themselves.

During the afternoon press conference, it was announced that a decision on the program will be voted on tonight. It was explained that there will be no more debates and proposals on the program, because all addenda and amendments have already been submitted to the Program Commission, and the commission itself will submit the completed drafts for approval. Thus the most important issue has been decided a priori. The organizers' goal, to adopt an anti-socialist program which will be used by Poland's counter-revolutionary forces, has been achieved.

RABOTNICHESKO DELO Reports

AU051837 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 5 Oct 81 p 7

[BTA correspondents' report from Gdansk on the second stage of the Solidarity Congress -- "Antisocialist Campaign and Useless Debates"]

[Text] Gdansk, 4 Oct (BTA) -- This is the ninth day of the second stage of the Solidarity congress, and prospects that the congress might be nearing its end are more remote than ever. The most important problem which the delegates are supposed to discuss -- namely, a programmatic document of the congress -- is being shifted from one committee to the other and has so far not been submitted to a plenary discussion. Several insignificant decisions and resolutions are being voted upon instead.

The congress delegates are visibly tired of all these useless debates. This seems to be one of the organizers' special purposes as a matter of fact. In prolonging such useless debates, they are trying to influence the minority of sensible and sober-minded participants in the congress. Malicious slanders and insults addressed against socialism, against the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, as well as against the Polish Government's decisions continue to flow freely from the speaker's rostrum. This venomous antisocialist campaign did not spare the representatives of the socialist countries' mass media. The Solidarity congress adopted a special declaration in which CTK, the CSSR news agency, and the correspondent of RUDE PRAVO, the CPCZ organ, are insulted for having denounced the financial transactions of the Solidarity leaders.

It was recently announced at a press conference that unless the government canels its decisions to increase the prices of cigarettes, matches and freshwater fish, as well as the prices of canned fruit and vegetables, a general strike will be organized. Solidarity has published a special manual with biographical data on the founders and leaders of this "trade union" which openly discloses that close relations exist between the Solidarity trade union and all counterrevolutionary organizations and movements in Poland headed by KSS-KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee]. Comments continue on Lech Walesa's recent statement that "for the time being Solidarity cannot establish a political party, but the prerequisites for this should be prepared." The congress developments and the draft program of the organization, however, confirm the fact that Solidarity leaders are striving to transform the trade union into a social movement, and later into a political party which is supposed to take over power in the country.

The election of the Solidarity National Coordination Committee members is expected to begin late tonight.

DAILIES QUOTED ON U.S. MILITARY POLICY

AU060946 Sofia BTA in English 0855 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct (BTA) -- Arsenals of recklessness, escalation of madness, a dangerous step -- this is how in today's commentaries the national dailies characterize the new wide-scale programme on the U.S. nuclear potential increase made public last week by President Reagan.

The newspapers maintain that the new measures in the nuclear field, made public by President Reagan, testify to the deepening of the extremely negative trends for peace and security in the foreign political course of the United States.

"Anyway, the entire weapon euphoria in Washington is carried out in implementation of the political commands of the military-industrial complex and the most reactionary, adventurist circles, who strive for optimum profits from the existing, again at their inspiration, complex and tense situation in the world.

That is why their target has nothing to do with the false declarations of liquidating a lag behind the armament. This is a planned blow at the principle for equal security and against the equality in the military sphere of the two systems opposed to each other, notes RABOTNICHESKO DELO today.

Pointing out that President Reagan has preferred to speak in a roundabout way on restoring an alleged 'security reserve' and removing 'cracks in U.S. invincibility', the TRUD newspaper stresses: "Apparently the White House is well aware that only a small minority of innocents will believe the 'catching up with Moscow' version of the new unprecedented nuclear programme.

ZEMEDELSKO ZNAME notes that this programme comes to supplement and further many of Washington's former steps, which speak eloquently of its greater-state ambitions and striving for world power.

Reminding that doubts have been voiced repeatedly with regard to Washington's sincere wish to have earnest, constructive and honest talks with the Soviet Union, NARODNA ARMIYA writes: "Obviously right were those who maintained that this was only a concession and a forced maneuver of official Washington under the pressure of the American public and its NATO European allies".

DOYNOV, OTHERS ATTEND GDR ANNIVERSARY RECEPTION

AU061530 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] On 6 October Gerhard Reinert, GDR ambassador to Bulgaria, gave a reception on the GDR national holiday -- the day of the republic. Comrades Ognyan Doynov, Petur Mladenov, Georgi Yordanov, Dimitur Stanishev; Georgi Dzhagarov, deputy chairman of the State Council; State Council members; BCP Central Committee Department heads; ministers; deputy chairmen of the National Assembly; leaders of public and mass organizations; BCP Central Committee responsible associates; officials from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and generals and officers from the Bulgarian People's Army took part in the reception. Chiefs and members of diplomatic missions accredited in Sofia also attended the reception, which took place in a friendly atmosphere.

37TH ANNUAL PLOVDIV INTERNATIONAL FAIR CLOSES

AU051952 Sofia BTA in English 1908 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Plovdiv, 5 Oct (BTA) -- The 37th autumn technical fair in the city of Plovdiv was closed today. Besides Bulgaria 37 states represented by more than 1400 firms took part in it. Contracts to the tune of two and a half milliard currency leva were concluded at this commercial forum. In ten days the fair was visited by 400 thousand Bulgarians and by more than 5,000 foreigners.

After closing the fair Mr Khristo Khristov, the Bulgarian minister of foreign trade, told journalists that the success of the 37th technical fair in the city of Plovdiv was due to the constantly growing prestige of Bulgaria as a trading partner, to the great variety of Bulgarian goods exhibited at it, foods which were on view for direct negotiation.

The minister said that most substantial were the commercial operations realized with firms from the socialist states, most of all, from the Soviet Union, which had again confirmed the role and the significance of the socialist market as a basic factor for the overall economic development of the country. Further on he stressed that the talks held in the time of the fair with representatives of the business circles of the developed non-socialist countries will push forward the economic contacts and the efforts at diversifying the forms of cooperation. As far as the developing countries are concerned, Mr Khristo Khristov said that the chance for long-term economic relationship were discussed with representatives of the developing countries as well as the chances for rendering aid in the building of their national economies.

"The main impression gained at these talks is that the business circles abroad appreciate the achievements of the Bulgarian economy and the Bulgarian policy aimed at activization of international economic cooperation in the spirit of the final act of Helsinki" he stressed.

WEST BERLIN SOCIALIST DELEGATION ARRIVES

AU060947 Sofia BTA in English 0852 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct (BTA) -- A delegation of the Socialistische Einheitpartei [Socialist Unity Party] West Berlin, led by its chairman Mr Horst Schmitt, arrived on an official visit here last night at the invitation of the CC of the BCP.

PORTUGUESE COMMUNIST DELEGATION ENDS VISIT

AU061947 Sofia BTA in English 1852 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Sofia, 6 Oct (BTA) -- A delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, led by Mrs (Margarita Tengarinha), member of the CC of the PCP were on a visit to Bulgaria at the invitation of the CC of the BCP, September 28 through October 6, 1981.

The delegation was received by Mr Dimitur Stanishev and Mr Vasil Tsanov, secretaries of the CC of the BCP. During their stay the envoys of the Portuguese communists got familiar with the successes achieved by Bulgaria's agriculture and studied the BCP's experience in this field.

LALYU GANCHEV DIES, ZHIVKOV ATTENDS FUNERAL

AU061946 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] On 6 October the Bulgarian people bade farewell to Lalyu Ganchev, the noted political and public figure, member of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union Administrative Council and deputy chairman of the Fatherland Front National Council.

A mourning ceremony took place at the Central Club of the People's Army. Comrade Todor Zhivkov and other party and state leaders were among the honor guard, as well as leaders of public and mass-political organizations.

A letter of condolence from Comrade Todor Zhivkov to the family of the deceased was read at the Sofia Cemetery. The letter pointed out that Lalyu Ganchev's life was completely devoted to the struggle for the freedom, happiness and social progress of the Bulgarian people. He will remain forever in the hearts of the present and future generations of socialis Bulgaria.

Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian National Agrarian Union and first deputy chairman of the State Council, delivered the eulogy.

BRIEFS

MIKHAYLOV, SOVIET WRITER -- Stoyan Mikhaylov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Aleksandr Chakovskiy, the well-known Soviet writer and chief editor of the Soviet periodical LITERATURNAYA GAZETA. During their talk, which proceeded in an atmosphere of exceptional cordiality, they briefed each other on the work in connection with the implementation of the decisions adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress and the 12th BCP Congress. The two officials discussed the development of literature in both countries and the further expansion of Bulgarian-Soviet cooperation in the literary and cultural sectors. The meeting was attended by Lyubomir Pavlov, head of the BCP Central Committee Cultural Department, and by Lyubomir Levchev, chairman of the Bulgarian Writers Union. [Text] [Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1630 GMT 28 Sep 81 AU]

AS-SADAT DEATH REPORTED; 'VICTIM' OF OWN POLICY

Report of Assassination

LD061648 Prague in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1630 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat is dead. He died in a Cairo hospital within hours after being fatally wounded by a group of army men, while watching a military parade earlier in the day. A spokesman for the presidential office announced this after several contradictory accounts of what actually happened. The president was wounded as about six soldiers jumped from their armored personnel carrier during the parade and opened fire at the presidential grandstand. Several other people were injured in the attack, including the Belgian ambassador.

Comment on Assassination

LD062034 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Frantisek Prachar Dispatch]

[Text] It is not every day that the highest representative of a country meets a violent end, but it happened in Egypt today. President Anwar as-Sadat succumbed to injuries sustained in an assassination carried out during a military parade held on the occasion of the anniversary of the war between Egypt and Israel in 1973. During the parade, a military vehicle hauling an artillery gun stopped in front of the platform seating President as-Sadat and other guests -- mainly foreign guests and the highest representatives of various countries. The crew jumped down, threw hand grenades onto the platform and finally literally sprayed the platform with machine gun fire. President as-Sadat was quickly carried by helicopter to a hospital, but he died of his injuries.

On the whole, the world press agencies are unanimous in stating that he has become a victim of the very policy he himself pursued. This includes the humiliating Camp David agreements which -- under the auspices of the United States -- have upset Arab unity. It also includes the country's total submission to Israel interests. That is something actually strengthening Israel. All of this caused a mass wave of discontent in Egypt and President as-Sadat wanted to deal with it in his own way. According to official sources, during the recent repressive actions about 2,000 people were arrested and many others were affected indirectly. Today's events have shown that these measures have turned against President as-Sadat. He was killed while inspecting a parade of selected army units in which he saw a pillar of his regime. This too shows that the situation in the country is not stable and that this violent act of resistance carried out by the Egyptian opposition was supported by a firm background and was well organized.

President Anwar as-Sadat died today. It is likely that the near future will show to what extent this event will influence the internal political development in Egypt and, in fact, in the entire region.

SOLIDARITY SEEN AS LOSING POSITION IN POLAND

'Political Ambitions'

LD061218 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 2230 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Solidarity's moral authority is losing its false glitter day by day. The Gdansk congress has demonstrated its inability to secure bread and work for the Polish people. It seems that each of the 800 delegates is intent on pushing through his own concept and political program.

Directed from behind the scenes, Solidarity as a whole then demands the impossible. It demands cuts in working hours while calling for price cuts. It attacks the government's draft bill on workers' self-management and on state enterprises while refusing to help the national economy. Even though the sight of people waiting in long lines for essential foodstuffs has been an everyday occurrence for a number of months already, Solidarity threatens additional strikes. It condemns the raising of the prices of tobacco products while at the same time sabotaging coal output. And winter, with all its implications, including a shortage of coal, is now right around the corner.

The Solidarity leaders and their friends are not interested in the real concerns of the Polish working people, for they have other, political ambitions. Sitting in the all-important Solidarity bodies are people from the former so-called Social Self-Defense Committee [KOR], occupying, moreover, influential positions. For instance, Andrzej Gwiazda, an ambitious and jealous rival of Lech Walesa, draws on the rich experiences of the founding member of this antisocialist organization, Adam Michnik. Lech Walesa, on the other hand, picks the brain of another KOR organizer, Jacek Kuron. It is believed within Solidarity circles that it is Kuron who guides Walesa, thus steering practically the entire organization.

However, another current has appeared at the Gdansk congress which is an echo of the political concepts that have emerged from the camp of the bourgeois right in Poland. Its forces, which have survived from the prewar period, have been put together by the so-called Confederation for an Independent Poland. Its ideological leader is none other than Moczulski, a man of clear-cut, anticommunist convictions. No wonder, then, that one often hears expressions of hatred of socialism from the Gdansk congress. Thus for instance, (Longin Marec) from Bialystok claimed in a debate that the main cause of the crisis in Poland is the country's trade with the neighboring countries and above all the result of the introduction of the convertible ruble. (Leon Okynczyk) from western Pomerania, topped it all by stating that tsarist Russia produced more than the Soviet Union produces today. This is not even demagoguery! This is illiteracy combined with enormous silliness! And these are the views on which Solidarity leaders and their protectors from KOR are building their antisocialist policy.

'Clamor' Over Cigarettes

LD061036 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0600 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Correspondent Frantisek Sojka report from Gdansk]

[Text] The congress of the so-called independent trade union organization Solidarity is deliberating in Gdansk. Correspondent Frantisek Sojka has this to say about how the congress delegates have reacted to the latest government decision to increase the prices of tobacco products:

[Begin recording] This is a real irony, but instead of fiery words, as has been the case to date, about the Solidarity mission and about the "perfect" ways it has discovered to overcome rapidly all the existing problems, it is cigarettes which are the subject of discussions here in Gdansk. The government's decision to raise the prices of tobacco products has been rejected resolutely and has even provoked clamor for staging at least a 1-hour general strike. All of this indicates that the issue of cigarette prices will substantially influence the further course of the congress. The government says that it received a preliminary agreement from Solidarity to raise the prices but no one from Solidarity's representatives wants to admit this. On the other side, it has been shown that as far as the rejection of government measures aimed at the implementation of the economic reform is concerned the delegates here in Gdansk are all agreed. Solidarity has, however, not yet introduced its own program and justifiable doubts are emerging whether it will in fact be formulated at the current congress. According to some information Solidarity's final version could be worked out and adopted at a later date by the newly elected National Coordinating Commission after the congress has ended.

STROUGAL RECEIVES BULGARIA'S STOICHKOV

LD061848 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1530 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] In the Hrzan Palace in Prague today, Federal Premier Lubomir Strougal received Grigor Stoichkov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, who heads a delegation at the 21st session of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee for Economic and Scientific-Technological Cooperation.

The two representatives informed each other about the development of the economy in Czechoslovakia and Bulgaria this year, and about the main tasks to be implemented by the two states until 1985. They appreciated the results achieved in economic and scientific-technological cooperation and expressed conviction that the discussions of the Czechoslovak-Bulgarian Committee would contribute significantly to further intensification of cooperation.

LENART MEETS WITH PORTUGAL'S CUNHAL IN SLOVAKIA

Communist Movement Unity

LD062140 Prague CTK in English 1714 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bratislava, 6 Oct (CTK) -- Jozef Lenart, Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee and first secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Central Committee, received here Tuesday a delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, led by Alvaro Cunhal, the party's general secretary.

Jozef Lenart briefed the Portuguese guests on the active participation of the Slovak working people in the building of a developed socialist society, and pointed out the importance of the activity and initiative of the broad masses of the population.

Alvaro Cunhal appreciates bilateral cooperation and solidarity of the two nations and parties, and spoke of the struggle of the Portuguese Communist Party against the forces which strive to destroy the democratic regime in the country. He also stressed the importance of the unity of the international communist movement and all democratic forces in the world in the struggle for the preservation of peace.

Lenart, Cunhal Speeches

LD062216 Prague CTK in English 2109 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bratislava, 6 Oct (CTK) -- The hope of mankind for the preservation and strengthening of peace will be the more realistic and certain the firmer the socialist community, the greater its political might, its economic and defensive strength, Presidium member of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and First Secretary of the Slovak Communist Party Jozef Lenart said here Tuesday. Addressing a meeting of Slovak working people with the visiting delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party, led by its Secretary-General Alvaro Cunhal, Josef Lenart pointed out that the main task of progressive forces, nations, and realistic politicians from capitalist countries in the present dangerous international situation is to make every effort to prevent a catastrophe, to strengthen peace and ensure the continuation of the process of detente.

Jozef Lenart stressed that the Czechoslovak Communist Party, government and millions of workers support with an ever greater resolution the peace proposals submitted by the Soviet Union. Seeking to contribute ever more actively and fruitfully to the struggle against war and for life in peace we will further enhance the strength and unity of the socialist community, the international communist and workers' movement as well as the national liberation movement, the closeness of all democratic forces in the world, Jozef Lenart said.

Jozef Lenart highly appreciated the high-principled class policy pursued by Portuguese communists, their unity with the working people and their adherence to Marxism-Leninism which make possible their creative and successful work for the people.

Recalling the six decades of the work and struggle of the Portuguese Communist Party, Jozef Lenart said that they prove the patriotism and deep internationalism of Portuguese communists who, regardless of hateful attacks of their enemies, support the national liberation movement, proudly adhere to the workers' movement, and express their deep internationalist attitude to the socialist countries and the Soviet Union in particular. Fraternal and really proletarian-internationalist bonds exist also between Portuguese and Czechoslovak communists as well as between the working people of the two countries, Jozef Lenart stressed.

"The new aggressive policy of U.S. imperialism requires a decisive response by the workers," Alvaro Cunhal stressed at the meeting. In this situation, the unity of the communist movement and all anti-imperialist forces, especially all revolutionary ones, must be enhanced, he emphasized, adding that the Soviet Union and all other socialist countries, progressive states, the workers' movement in the capitalist countries, and all national liberation movements must unite in the battle against the endeavor by the reactionary forces to split the progressive ones, to drive a wedge between the Soviet Union and other socialist states, mar relations between the socialist and the capitalist countries and disrupt the unity of the natinal liberation movement.

No pressure and no threats can lead the Portuguese Communist Party off the path of cooperation and friendship with the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia and other socialist states, with all communist parties and the international workers' movement, Alvaro Cunhal said.

"The struggle for democratic changes in Portugal, the defense of the achievements of the revolution, foreign policy, cooperation and friendship with all nations -- this is the patriotic task of the Portuguese Communist Party, and part of its internationalist duty," Alvaro Cunhal stressed. Despite six years of counter-revolutionary offensive, the achievements of the revolution are still vivid, with a strong workers' movement and a dynamic farmers' movement. The communist party leads the Portuguese working class and firmly defends the revolutionary achievements in an effort to mobilize all forces, prevent the counter-revolution from advancing and achieve changes in the Portuguese Government which would result in the establishment of a democratic regime, he said.

CULTURE MINISTER RETURNS FROM VISIT TO SYRIA

LD062056 Prague CTK in English 1727 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 6 Oct (CTK) -- Czech Culture Minister Milan Klusak ended his official friendly visit to Syria and returned home Tuesday. He met there with Syrian Culture Minister Najah al-'Attar for talks on further development of cultural cooperation between the two countries, and was received by Syrian President Army General Hafiz al-Asad, Assistant Secretary General of the Arab Socialist Ba'th party 'Abdallah al-Ahmar and Deputy Prime Minister 'Abd al-Qadir Qaddurah.

In all friendly talks, the two sides appreciated increasing activity of relations between Czechoslovakia and Syria contributing to the extension of bilateral cooperation and to the strengthening of the unity of progressive, anti-imperialist forces.

At a meeting with members of the organizations of Syrian writers and graphic artists, the two sides expressed their interests to support the development of direct cooperation between cultural organizations of the two countries.

At the close of his visit, the Czechoslovak minister presented gold medals to five prominent representatives of the Syrian public life and leading officials of the Syrian-Czechoslovak Friendship Society for their contribution to the development of cooperation and friendship between the two countries.

RECEPTION IN HONOUR OF PRC'S NATIONAL DAY NOTED

AU051101 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 2 Oct 81 p 2

[CTK report in column "International Relations"]

[Text] Li Tingyuan, PRC ambassador to the CSSR, has given a reception in honor of the 32d anniversary of the founding of the PRC. The reception was attended by Vlastimil Chalupa, CSSR minister of communications, and other representatives of government agencies and institutions. Members of the Prague diplomatic corps were also present.

STROUGAL RECEIVES CANADIAN WAR VETERANS

LD062036 Prague CTK in English 1812 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 6 Oct (CTK) -- Czechoslovak Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal received here Tuesday a delegation of Canadian veterans of World War Two led by Defense Minister Gilles Lamontagne.

In the talks, Lubomir Strougal pointed out that at present, the most important task of all countries is detente, disarmament and preservation of world peace, for which also the Czechoslovak external policy has been striving. The two sides stressed their interest to develop all-round relations between Czechoslovakia and Canada and thus contribute to the creation of confidence and extension of cooperation between countries with different social systems.

LEADERS CONGRATULATE GDR ON NATIONAL DAY

LD062030 Prague CTK in English 1646 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Prague, 6 Oct (CTK) -- Gustav Husak, general secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party and president, and Czechoslovak Premier Lubomir Strougal sent a telegram of congratulations to Erich Honecker, general secretary of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany and chairman of the GDR Council of State, and Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, on the national day of the German Democratic Republic.

In the telegram, the Czechoslovak officials highly appreciate the successful and all-round cooperation between the Czechoslovak Communist Party and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, the two states and peoples, based on identical interests and aims in the construction of an advanced socialist society. They expressed the conviction that mutual relations will continue to successfully develop and strengthen in the spirit of the treaty of friendship, cooperation and mutual assistance of October 3, 1977 and in harmony with the conclusions of this year's congresses of the fraternal parties.

The telegram highly appreciated the results achieved by the people of the GDR under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party in the 32 years of the construction of socialist society. They rest also on close cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other states of the socialist community, the telegram stressed.

By its high-principled foreign policy of peace, active role in the struggle for permanent peace and relaxation of international tension, and all-round support for progressive forces in the world, the German Democratic Republic has won high international recognition, the telegram noted.

USSR OFFICIALS JOIN IN ARMY DAY OBSERVANCE

Wreath-Laying Ceremony

LD061316 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1130 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] To mark the 37th anniversary of the Carpathian-Dukla operation and the Czechoslovak People's Army Day, a solemn ceremony took place at the National Memorial on Zizkov Hill in Prague today. Tomas Travnicek, deputy chairman of the National Front Central Committee, and other representatives of Czechoslovakia's political and public life placed a joint wreath of the Central Committees of the CSSR and Czech National Fronts at the unknown soldier's tomb while military honors were being given. A joint wreath of the Czechoslovak People's Army and the Ministry of the Interior was placed by Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense; Jan Kovac, first deputy minister of the interior; and Colonel Miroslav Novak, chief of the main staff of the people's militias. A wreath of the Soviet Armed Forces was placed by Lt Gen Sergey Varichenko, representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, and Lt Gen Grigoriy Borisov, commander of the Central Group of Soviet Forces. Representatives of the National Front, the Czechoslovak Armed Forces and the Soviet Army also placed a wreath at the central burial place of honor of the Soviet Army at Olsany Cemetery in Prague.

Ustinov Cables Dzur

LD062232 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Marshal Dmitriy Ustinov, Soviet minister of defense, has congratulated Army Gen Martin Dzur, minister of national defense, and all Czechoslovak soldiers on the occasion of the 37th anniversary of the foundation of the Czechoslovak People's Army.

The telegram says that our army is celebrating its anniversary at a time of a high political and work development for the nations of Czechoslovakia in the realization of the plans for the further construction of a developed socialist society. Soviet soldiers are expressing their profound satisfaction with the fact that the bonds of friendship and cooperation between the nations and armies of our countries are growing ever stronger and more developed all the time.

COMMITTEE FORMED TO FOUND FREE TRADE UNIONS

PM051509 Paris LE MONDE in French 3 Oct 81 p 3

["AMB" report: "Formation of 'Preparatory Committee for the Foundation of Free Trade Unions' in Prague"]

[Text] We have learned from a good source that a "preparatory committee for the foundation of free trade unions" in Czechoslovakia was instituted in Prague at the end of September in order to "defend the workers' real interests and demands." In "the present difficult situation" its founders, who wish to remain anonymous for the time being, will first "seek and use unexplored legal means for improving the workers' situation," notably by using the possibilities offered by the existing trade unions to try to "reform their tasks and democratic principles in the direction of renewal."

If these attempts were to remain without effect, free trade unions would be created.

All workers are asked to seek in their place of work "means of improving the situation and seeking a channel for objective information." The founders claim to follow the traditions of the international progressive trade union movement and, more especially, the new experiments carried out by the Polish Solidarity trade union, with which they want to cooperate. They are asking for "moral aid and support from any democratic trade union organization," although they are aware that "the renewal and liberation of the trade union movement and of society as a whole" in Czechoslovakia cannot come from any other country.

The founders of this committee have sent a message to Solidarity's first congress. They state in particular: "We are well aware that your movement constitutes the most effective way of struggling against a rigid bureaucratic system and of fulfilling the real demands of the workers, of us all; and also of establishing democratic self-management in production and, gradually, throughout society."

BENO ADDRESSES BRATISLAVA CPSL MEETING ON MEMBERS

LD052058 Prague Domestic Service in Czech and Slovak 1900 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] The perfection of the membership base of the party after the 16th congress was discussed in Bratislava today by the CPSL city committee. Participants stated that the primary organizations are decisive for the perfection of the membership base. They lead communists toward the fulfillment of the main political and economic goals and link the party with the broad masses of working people.

Mikulas Beno, secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, emphasized in his speech the fact that the perfection of the membership base of the party is, during the implementation of the conclusions of the 16th congress, one of the priority tasks. During the implementation of its goals, the increase of efficiency and quality of work, it is necessary to encourage activity and discipline of all party members and candidate members. It is at the same time important to remove elements of formalism, superficial attitudes and administrative approaches which still exist.

IMPORTANCE OF CITIZENS' COMPLAINTS ANALYZED

AU011545 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 30 Sep 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Strengthening the Citizen's Confidence"]

[Excerpts] The forms comprising our socialist democracy, the political activity of the citizens, their participation in the management and administration of public affairs, are developing richly indeed. The working people's complaints, reports and suggestions are one of these forms. They reflect the thoughts, and life and work experiences of the people, their problems and worries. All combined, they express the social activity and initiative of the citizens, their efforts to help solve problems and shortcomings. They constitute a valuable source of information for the managing organs about the situation particularly in those fields of our economy and social life that most affect the citizen's interests. This is why the 16th CPCZ Congress and the Slovak Communist Party [CPSL] Congress have emphatically enjoined the stated and economic organs and organizations to pay regular attention to dealing with the citizens' letters and to ensuring that their suggestions, justified remarks and complaints are solved consistently and promptly.

The citizens themselves regard as very effective this form of striving for an improvement of the situation in certain fields or for redress in the individual cases they point out. Proof of this as well as of the citizens' confidence in the organs dealing with their complaints is the fact that some 30,000 citizens' complaints and suggestions annually are reaching the Slovak ministries, economic organs, national committees and their subordinated organizations.

An analysis of the gist of these complaints and suggestions shows that the approach by state and economic organs to attending to the working peoples' letters has improved with respect to the shortening of deadlines, the conscientiousness of examining their contents and to ensuring subsequent redress. It is true, though, that in this sphere -- and particularly here, because it involves delicate work with peoples' difficulties and problems -- more and more demanding tasks must be stipulated; all the more so because, despite an overall improvement of the situation concerning the attitude to complaints, in individual cases there is still a tendency that can be described as attempting to get rid of complaints rather than settle them in a responsible manner, a tendency not to ensure properly the implementation of the measures recommended for redress, not to draw the proper conclusions consistently enough toward those people who have caused the shortcomings by their negligence or by actions that run counter to the rules, actions pointed out by the complaints.

The fact that on examination virtually every second complaint turns out to be fully or partly justified indicates the existence of shortcomings in certain fields that have persisted for some time already. These particularly involve problems and complaints of the citizens connected with supply, trade, services, practices in the management of apartments, the maintenance of houses, shortcomings in mass transportation and in health care. It is true that individual complaints are being settled and that the citizens are receiving increasingly more satisfactory answers but this is not enough. The great number of justified complaints concerning the functioning of these sectors requires -- as was pointed out by the CPSL Central Committee Secretariat in June on the basis of an analysis which generalized the findings obtained in settling the citizens' complaints -- that at each management level the causes of the emergence of undesirable phenomena would be clarified and that both the state and economic sectors should be oriented to eliminating them within the framework of their scope of activities and responsibility. Attention in all this must focus on solicitude for and on providing commodities in short supply to domestic markets, maintaining convenient sales hours, improving restaurant catering, on more effectively ensuring honesty in trade and the protection of the consumers' justified interests. It also is necessary in further developing services provided to the citizens by local economy enterprises and producers' cooperatives to orient management work toward shortening delivery deadlines, improving the quality of the work of laundries, dry-cleaning shops and repair shops for durable consumer goods, including automobiles.

Solving the housing problem is a particularly delicate matter. The standard argument is frequently used that apartments are in short supply while at the same time some national committees do not always consistently enough see to it that the principles of state housing policy and of assigning apartments to the most needy applicants are observed, do not see to it that an economical maintenance and modernization of houses are ensured, that checks are made of the housing enterprises as to how they care for dealing with the justified demands of the citizens for orderly supplies of heat and hot water. Last year alone the citizens submitted more than 3,000 complaints and reports related to such problems to the national committees in the Slovak Socialist Republic. Complaints about the standard and quality of passenger mass transportation and communication services also proved to be justified in almost 65 percent of all cases.

The CPSL Central Committee Secretariat also points out the need to ensure a more consistent compliance with the legal provisions and adopted decisions related to the solving of legal housing problems, the expropriation of real estate and the evaluation of it, including an improvement of the work of court experts as well as a more vigorous apprach to solving problems connected with the erection of buildings without a building license.

Quite often the question has been discussed with us on the most varied occasions whether or not and how unsigned complaints should be considered.

Undoubtedly, behind each complaint there should stand a specific person who does not conceal his address and profession and who is presenting his experience, so that it is possible to approach him when his complaint is being examined to supplement it in case of necessity and to clarify certain details. But this is not always so. Organs in Slovakia are receiving some 4,000 anonymous complaints annually, which implies that virtually every 10th complaint is an anonymous one. It must be pointed out, however, that 35 percent of the anonymous complaints turn out to be fully or partly justified on examination, something which by itself proves the untenability of the principle which is sometimes expressed that "anonymous letters should go into the waste paper basket." It is true though that the problem also has another facet: Almost two-thirds of the anonymous letters involve fabricated reports, slanders of honest officials, more often than not precisely because they rejected the anonymous letter writers' earlier demands which conflicted with the rules. Such practices are nothing but abuses of the constitutional right to present complaints for personal aims. The principle must be unambiguously applied in this respect that both anonymous as well as signed complaints whose tendentiousness and untruthfulness are proved must not have an unfavorable impact on the evaluation of the worker against whom they are aimed.

Hence it is necessary in the interest of deepening confidence in our party's policy, in our system and in its organs to devote attention to the citizens complaints at a qualitatively higher level. The ministries, other central organs and national committees of all levels must be requested to assume a greater share in the personal examination and settlement of socially important and politically delicate complaints. It also is necessary to more consistently watch the timeliness and objective correctness of reviews of complaints forwarded to other organs for settlement.

NEED SEEN FOR MANAGERS TO TALK TO WORKERS

LD051254 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 0800 GMT 5 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] RUDE PRAVO today carries a leading article entitled "An Attitude to People." It recalls that we often hear from workers at membership meetings of party organizations that the top economic management of enterprises and plants seldom come down to workshops, that they do not find time to come to a production hall to talk to people, for instance during an afternoon or night shift, about what could be improved further at the workplace, to listen attentively to suggestions and observations, to ensure the fulfillment of the plan as well as to listen to their everyday worries. It is not complaining that this is all about but rather a call for attention by those older workers, both communists and noncommunists, who still have fresh in their memory the time when they were building the foundations of our present socialist system.

The RUDE PRAVO leading article then goes on to reflect on what the truth is in the words that some economic managers visit production shops only seldom and rely rather on getting to know a person from papers rather than from personal contact. The article reminds its readers that people in economic posts, too, must learn daily. They must learn from people and be familiar with their problems and tackle them. In this respect the essence of the term "worker's director" has not changed, for it continues to apply, but in a greater sense. The majority of leading economic managers have today, as in earlier days, not taken away anything from these tested and, over many years, tried principles. On the contrary, they have been broadening them, seeking, in accordance with local conditions, new forms and methods of political persuasion. Despite all the daily worries connected with the management of an enterprise, the leading economic managers and, in particular, communists must not forget that an economic post is, above all, a political post. The view that because of numerous other urgent commitments there is no time to pay more frequent visits to workplaces will not do.

The article says in conclusion that what is necessary is for leading economic managers to plan their working day, week and month, so as to ensure that a visit to a workshop occupies a permanent place in it.

FODDER SHORTAGE VIEWED; COOPERATION URGED

AU051440 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 3 Oct 81 p 1

[Editorial: "Untapped Resources Do Exist"]

[Excerpts] It is estimated that the fodder stocks are short of roughly 1.5 million tons of grain crops to maintain the present advanced level of livestock production. However, our economy does not have sufficient resources to be able to cover the shortfall by imports from abroad. It can cover only its small part and even that at the cost of substantial changes in the originally planned purchases and imports. That is also a consequence of the decision not to continue to increase our indebtedness abroad but to strive for its gradual reduction by effecting more effective exports.

It is not for the first time in the history of our socialist agriculture that we enter the winter period with an unbalanced fodder base. However, for the first time we will have to cope without the aid of imports at the required level. That means that the old experiences and methods will no longer do, but that we have to seek additional supplementary fodder resources and fodder improvement, set the fodder rations more efficiently and improve the overall zootechnical care for livestock.

It is necessary to pay greater attention to the agricultural enterprises' overall economic performance. It is no new discovery that their profitability is low, and that not always as a result of poor production conditions but also as a result of a wasteful handling of resources. There may still exist agricultural enterprises which speculate that once they run out of fodder or diesel oil for their tractors, someone will redeem them for their wasteful management from the state funds. However, their expectations will be bitterly disappointed. They will not find anyone to do so because they have to make ends meet with what they have available. There are great unused resources in the agricultural enterprises' internal operations and these have to be tapped.

No matter how important it is, even the production of foodstuffs cannot be ensured irrespective of costs. To be a good manager means to work in such a way as to enable society to derive the greatest possible profit from one's work and not so that it should incur losses from it. We have outstanding agricultural enterprises which honestly strive to be good managers and their results entitle them to have a clear conscience. But there are also enterprises which, instead of mobilizing their own untapped potential, only keep complaining. And there are also enterprises which, in their pursuit of profits, forget what their mission is and instead of seeing to the improvement of plant and livestock production shamelessly devote themselves to petty dealing [kseftovan], which does not do credit to the respective agricultural administration.

The forthcoming winter period in agriculture will be very difficult. A number of measures is being prepared aimed at not making the difficult period any longer than is inevitable and at returning as quickly as possible to the adequate standard of the livestock's nutrition next year. It is necessary to carry out all the measures consistently and with foresight, to correctly grasp their meaning and purpose, to do more than they demand in the way of ensuring production and to consume for that purpose less than heretofore.

It is essential, in view of the political importance of the measures that are being prepared, that the party organs at all levels devote utmost attention to their discussion, implementation and control in the sphere of their activity. The communists' specific tasks, the development of mass political work, economic propaganda and agitation must also focus on asserting the key conservation measures.

There is no reason to be pessimistic; it is within our reach to come to terms with the situation by exerting maximum all-social efforts.

WESTERN REPORTAGE CITED ON AS-SADAT'S SHOOTING

LD061426 East Berlin Voice of the GDR Domestic Service in German 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Egyptian President Anwar as-Sadat was injured today in an attack in Cairo. According to Western news agencies, a government spokesman announced over Cairo Radio that a group of unknown persons opened fire on the dais during today's military parade. The president and several of his entourage were hit. As-Sadat was given medical treatment. Further details have not yet been officially disclosed.

FDGB'S TISCH ATTACKS POLAND'S SOLIDARITY

LD051720 Hamburg DPA in German 1621 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] East Berlin, 5 Oct (DPA) -- Harry Tisch, chairman of the GDR's FDGB and member of the SED Politburo, has accused the independent trade unions in Poland of discussing at their congress in Gdansk "a program for the destruction of People's Poland." In a speech published today in the East Berlin trade union newspaper TRIBUENE, Tisch said that in Poland "chaos and anarchy roam abroad, even counterrevolution is raising its head."

Tisch described the trade union congress as "an arena for antisocialist, anti-Soviet, counterrevolutionary forces whose hatred for socialism knows no bounds." For more than a year these elements have been continually stirring up unrest and chaos, have thwarted the solution of problems vital to the people, and have blamed "socialism for the consequences of their actions."

"The activities of those forces hostile to socialism" in Poland are, in Tisch's view, not only inspired from outside but also comprehensively financed, materially supported and promoted from outside. Tisch assured support for the "revolutionary forces" in Poland and the old Branch Trade Unions. "We are convinced that the best sons and daughters of the Polish people will succeed, in spite of all difficulties, in ensuring that Poland remains a land of socialism."

U.S. DEFENSE POLICY DECISIONS CRITICIZED

Reagan Press Conference

DW061059 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1815 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] In bourgeois journalism, dear listeners, it is often said that bad news is easiest to sell. If we take this as a yardstick, news from the United States is currently enjoying a boom, which indeed cannot be said for the U.S. economy. It was the presdient himself who wrote last week's very bad news at his press conference Friday where he presented the biggest arms program in America's military history.

The United States plans to include two new strategic weapons systems in its arsenals -- 100 of the highly controversial MX missiles with 10 warheads each, and 100 new strategic B-1 bombers, which together with the B-52 bombers which are available but which need modernization, are to be equipped with 3,000 cruise missiles. In addition, the United States plans to develop another bomber which is supposed to be invisible to radar transmissions. The United States intends to enhance its submarine program and equip the submarines with even more accurate missiles carrying up to 14 MIRV's. The production of ABM's is also planned.

What appears to be more statistics will cost more than $180 billion during the next 6 years. Yet this gigantic sum tells very little about the actual significance of this program. It is obvious that this rings in a new round of the nuclear arms race, and people in the United States do not even deny it.

Above all, what President Reagan announced at his press conference spells the final and official renunciation of maintaing strategic parity by the United States. Anyone trying to build up his strategic potential by a least 4,000 additional warheads ridicules himself if he speaks of military balance in the future.

Even more than the arms program envisaged for Europe, I think, this makes it clear that Washington is pursuing military hegemony. This is why U.S. politicians hardly talk about balance anymore but have introduced two new terms to justify their arms megalomania. Asked whether the United States aspires to military superiority, the president replied Friday: We will do everything to close the window of vulnerability. This window of vulnerability is one of these alibi terms.

But what does it mean? Up until now the opinion had been held even in the West that a strategic balance guarantees that neither side could venture nuclear attack without risking a destructive counterattack. The vulnerability of both sides had the effect of stabilizing peace. If the United States now plans to close the window of vulnerability, it plans to make its own strategic potential invulnerable and thus undertake one of the mose important prerequisites for creating its own first strike capability. This is but another word for military hegemony.

While this term, which is intended to provide an alibi, already is a striking political blunder, it is even more true for the second term. They say that they intend to restore the security margin to the Soviet Union. Well, this really is just another way of saying military predominance. Thus by all indications, Washington has ceased to remain even pro forma with the principle of balance which it increasingly considers to be an obstacle to its own arms projects.

There is, however, also another conclusion. So far the Reagan government has given the impression that while it did not want to ratify the SALT II treaty, it planned to abide by the treaty's essential provisions. Reagan's strategic program sweeps this away completely. The creation of several new strategic weapons systems is simply at odds with SALT as is the deployment of cruise missils with a range of more than 600 km which is expressly prohibited under one of the protocols of SALT. In addition, the plan to build anti-missile systems on a large scale would mean the open violation of a valid Soviet-U.S. treaty dating back to the early seventies.

All this allows conclusions to be drawn about U.S. receptiveness to negotiations on both the medium-range missiles and the continuation of the SALT talks which the United States allegedly desires for sometime next spring. This leads to a third conclusion: There is an interconnection between the new strategic program announced by Reagan and the earlier decision on the Pershing II,the cruise missiles and production of the neutron weapon.

Let me quote at this point a prominent SPD politician, Egon Bahr, who at a discussion forum of his party on 27 August said the following about these interconnections: Both superpowers are abiding by SALT even though it has not been ratified. Yet if the SALT process were to collapse, the basis of the dual decision -- meant here is the NATO missile decision of December 1979 -- would be null and void. Unlimited intercontinental weapons plus the transfer of new medium-range missiles to Europe would be bound to convey the impression of a policy which pursues superiority -- a policy we reject. A connection between SALT and medium-range missiles does exist and it will become plain in the next 2 years. That is what Egon Bahr said, who was wrong, however, in what he said in his last sentence -- it took less than 2 years. Everything that Egon Bahr indicated as a possibility last summer has come true as of last Friday. Logically the consequences of this should be evident to those who so far have backed the so-called dual decision. If not, what still has to occur to show the unlimited intercontinental armament by the United States?

By the way, Oskar Lafontaine, chairman of the Saarland's SPD, is absolutely right when he emphasized the other day the incompatibility of the so-called NATO decision with SALT II.

After all, the deployment of several hundred cruise missiles with a range of 2,000 - 3,000 km -- prohibited under SALT II -- constitutes an essential part of this NATO decision. So, if any additional proof of the necessity of the peace demonstration in the Federal Republic next Saturday were needed, the decisions of the Reagan government have supplied it now. A person must pretend to be blind if he refuses to see that earlier as well as the latest U.S. decisions constitute an entity and that they, lumped together, are intended to upset the balance and lead the world to the brink of nuclear war.

In view of the severity of the danger, the quarrel over the question of whether SPD members can, may or should participate in the demonstration is bound to appear narrow-minded. How can a rally for peace and disarmament be a stab in the back of the federal government if this federal government through its own protests pursues the very same goal? Why is the pretext of potential violence -- which no one wants -- brought up if what is at stake is the prevention of horrendous violence in nuclear war?

How much history have those people forgotten who say that there is a resolution according to which social democrats may never appear together with communists? When fascism set out for its death crusade [words indistinct] be invalid now, even in this hour of danger?

Guenter (Vollmer) former major general of the Bundeswehr, in a letter to Defense Minister Apel the other day came out against Bonn's missile armament, justifying his stand by saying that German generals once before were justly accused of having remained silent even though they new what was looming ahead. (Vollmer) wrote: Since I see a new and grave danger looming ahead I do not want to keep silent. I want to voice a warning. Far more than 100,000 people, including thousands of Social Democrats, will place civic courage above political narrow-mindedness in Bonn next Saturday because this is necessary and because we must not stay silent any longer.

U.S. Arms Program Assessed

DW061537 East Berlin Domestic Television Service in German 1935 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Unidentified program moderator interview with military policy commentator Heinz Britsche in program "Answer" -- live or recorded]

[Text] [Moderator] Last weekend, dear viewers, President Reagan has enlarged the U.S. program of strategic rearmament. What was decided is the production of MX missiles and of bombers of the B-1 type. On this we received a question by Mr or Mrs Schneider from Potsdam. I'll pass it on to Heinz Britsche. Why, the question reads in part, is this a new accent and what is its connection with the Brussels missile decision?

[Answer] This surely is a new accent because what is at stake is the biggest military construction program in the history of the United States, as even Western commentators have stated. It is a new accent because it at the same time entails the intention of ushering in a new round of the atomic arms race. And since the modernization of nuclear arms encompasses all three fields, that is to say ground, air and sea, it also includes the continuation of specific programs, which had already been initiated by the former administration. This comprises, among other things, the Brussels decision of 12 December 1979 on the stationing of Pershing II and cruise missiles, the land-based cruise missiles in West Europe. They belong together. To be specific about it this involves, for instance, 100 new MX missiles, intercontinental missiles with 10 warheads each. This alone adds up to 1,000 MIRVS.

[Question] Which are movable underground?

[Answer] This is what was planned originally. Now they are put into hardened silos. This is the modified viersion of the program. What is also at stake is the building of 100 B-1 strategic bombers, with each of them costing at least $200 million; the modernization of the B-52 bombers which are equipped for the cruise missiles.

This is, so to speak, what is land-based and air-based, but at the same time also the continuation of building the trident underwater war vessels; the equipment with Trident missiles; the development of a new bomber for the nineties and the development of the new D-5 underwater missile. This is actually a comprehensive program.

[Question] As a matter of fact, it has never been easy for NATO politicians to justify the policy of tension. Only recently U.S. Defense Secretary Weinberger has made -- as I believe -- an unfit attempt at so doing. Could you tell us briefly what this is all about?

[Answer] The attempt has been made at depicting Soviet superiority, the military power of the Soviet Union in a booklet which is likewise called "The Military Power of the Soviet Union." It is unfit because one renounced, to a large degree, of drawing a comparison with the American armed forces and instead presented a one-sided picture with forged figures, as this has been done quite often before. But it is the first time that something is presented that one-sided, that only one side is depicted, so that even Western news agencies were of the view that it lacks any objectivity and even the Japanese general staff described it as a propaganda trick.

[Question] And reaction to this overall program is commensurate with it?

[Answer] Reaction is commensurate with it, but it likewise is clear that the booklet is to contribute to harassing and thereby crushing the peace movement -- as there are certain people in Western Europe and in NATO who want it to be distributed over here as soon as possible. This is an intention which is also behind it. But I also would like to say that along with his program the president at the same time announced a new gap. This is what was actually missing in Mr Weinberger's booklet. But he now has found a new gap -- the gap of vulnerability. Always when there were programs in the United States there were gaps, in the beginning it was the bomber gap, the submarine gap, the missile gap, the anti-missile gap and what is added now to the accuracy gap, with which the Pershing-II's were justified, is the vulnerability gap.

'Strategic Balance' Achieved

DW061232 East Berlin Domestic Service in German 1531 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Gerd Kurze commentary]

[Text] Even in the United States itself there are experienced and prominent politicians who contradict the contentions of the incumbent administration. They include former secretaries of state such as Dean Rusk and Cyrus Vance. Even the U.S. military has its white crows such as ex-Rear Admiral Gene (Daroque) who dealt with strategic questions concerning Soviet-U.S. relations in the general staff. They say: There is an approximate strategic balance of the military forces between the United States and the Soviet Union. The United States will not succeed in crushing this parity and regaining superiority. Such an attempt only harms the security interests of the United States itself.

One of their justified opinions is of special interest if we want to answer the question as to who has led the nuclear arms race after World War II into a new round time and again to this day and who -- to use terms from Western propaganda -- armed in advance and who counterarmed, doing this even now. They say the United States will not succeed in regaining superiority.

It is a fact that in the first postwar years the United States had been in a position of nuclear-strategic superiority over the Soviet Union which at first was overwhelming. And there was not only the militarily nonsensical dropping of two A-bombs in the war against Japan which indicated the U.S. nuclear weapons monopoly and which meanwhile is being clearly said to have been a gesture of military threat against the USSR.

Up to the mid-fifties there still existed concrete Pentagon plans for waging war against the Soviet Union. Operation (Troyan, Dropshot, Half Moon) were the names of these nuclear war projects.

If alone due to the Soviet Union's experiences of World War II, against the Fascist aggression, what other choice did it have than to create a military potential which would insure its effective defense? The Soviet Union had to counterarm. It had to catch up with atomic and hydrogen bombs, long-distance bombers and missiles, all these being weapons which the United States was the first to introduce into its arsenals.

This menacing U.S. arms advance which had been backed with a foreign policy of cold war, the declared intention to roll back or contain socialism -- roll-back and containment had been official doctrines of U.S. foreign policy -- could be counteracted only by two things: by the appeal to halt this stepped up arms buildup, to desist from producing new weapons at all and to reduce the existing arsenals, just as the Soviet Union did time and again, addressing itself to the peoples and governments. As long as this went unheard by imperialist politicians and even met with the arrogance of power in the United States, the Soviet Armed Forces had to be so strong that they were capable of fending off an attack effectively, that they were able to deter a potential aggressor by their capability of carrying out a destructive retaliation strike.

It was only in the sixties that the leaders of the United States gradually realized that nothing could be achieved against the Soviet Union and its allies with military power. It dawned on them that a nuclear attack would lead to the destruction of North America and even the whole world and that an approximate balance of military forces had emerged.

U.S. President Nixon admitted this publicly in the spring of 1969, and the Soviet-U.S. talks on strategic arms limitation were opened in the fall of that year. This is one, the historically founded, reply to the question as to who did the advance arming and who the counterarming. The process of strategic arms limitation could well be much farther ahead by now and night even include genuine disarmament measures if the Western side at large and the United States in particular had not newly tackled new arms projects, above all since the late seventies, which have been aimed at regaining superiority. These include the medium-range missiles and the neutron weapon, part of this also is the package of strategic arms which the U.S. president discussed Friday night.

One of them is a new class of nuclear-powered submarines called Trident. The first unit has already been launched, and what followed was a Soviet reaction which perhaps was somewhat sobering to the U.S. leadership. Leonid Brezhnev at the CPSU Congress in February/March reported that his country had suggested quite some time ago in the Soviet-U.S. negotiations that both sides renounce such a weapon and urged the United States to desist from building these Trident submarines. Only when the Americans failed to respond and created faits accomplis did the Soviet Union create a counterweight in the form of the Typhoon submarines. Nobody gained anything by that, merely the threat to peace increased as a result. Leonid Brezhnev combined this representation with the proposal to conduct negotiations on the limitation of this type of weapon.

This example is a topical answer to the question as to who is doing advance arming and who the counterarming. But as an example it may well also prove that the strategic balance cannot be broken any longer. Plans to this end will aggravate the danger of war and will reduce the security of that party, too, which makes an attempt in that direction nevertheless. What is needed is new negotiations on arms limitation and not another advance-arming and counterarming spiral.

FRG'S GENSCHER ASSAILED FOR ANTI-SOVIET STANCE

LD061518 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1358 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Beijin, 6 Oct (ADN) -- Bonn Foreign Minister Genscher is using his present meetings with leading Chinese politicians in Beijing to make uninhibited attacks on the Soviet Union. How he means to reconcile this with his recent protestations of standing up for disarmament and detente remains an open question. For the moment, however, he appears to set greater value on giving prominence to his anti-Soviet views in his contacts with his opposite numbers. He is hoping in this respect to get the Chinese side to lift the block on investment orders previously given to FRG industry.

In view of the anti-Soviet mood in the present Beijing leadership Genscher is counting on unreserved approval for his outrageous remarks on the alleged Soviet threat and as an advocate of the production and stationing of new American nuclear missiles in West Europe. He seems little bothered by the fact that behavior like this meets with resistance in his own party. In view of Genscher's praise in Beijing for the NATO arms buildup the statements which he made in Bonn to the effect that he is interested in genuine negotiations between the Soviet Union and the United States as well as between the Soviet Union and the FRG appear a little incredible. This being the fact, it is not surprising that the Chinese side explicity expressed "appreciation" for his attacks launched here against the Soviet Union and the Warsaw Pact states. Genscher dished up all the old slogans from the arsenal of the advocates of arming and enemies of detente -- from the lie of "counterarming".

He did not touch on the real facts, as they concern peace-loving mankind today and which are to be brought up for discussion at the peace demonstration announced for 10 October in Bonn. As a result of this talks in Beijing "broad agreement" on all issues dealt with was officially recorded.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET PRC LEADERS ON ANNIVERSARY

LD011058 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 0302 GMT 1 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin 1 Oct (ADN) -- To mark the occasion of the 32d anniversary of the founding of the People's Republic of China, GDR State Council chairman Erich Honecker and Council of Ministers chairman Willi Stoph sent a congratulatory telegram to the chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress of the People's Republic of China, Ye Jianying, and to the premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, Zhao Ziyang.

"The decade-long struggle of the Chinese people against imperialism and internal reactionary forces led in 1949 to the victory of the Chinese people's revolution. In this struggle, which was always actively supported by the German working class, relations of traditional friendliness arose between our peoples.

"The GDR will continue its efforts to develop its relations with the People's Republic of China in accordance with the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and noninterference."

ERICH HONECKER SPEAKS AT AWARDS CEREMONY

LD061654 East German ADN International Service in German 1502 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Berlin, 6 Oct (ADN) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, gave awards to meritorious personalities and collectives in connection with the GDR national day (7 Oct). The ceremony took place at the State Council in Berlin on Tuesday.

Following a recommendation of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and the Presidium of the GDR Council of Ministers, he conferred the Kral Marx Order, the honorary title hero of Labor, the GDR National Prize and the Patriotic Order of Merit.

In his address Erich Honecker said that in a socialist workers and peasant state "he who performs good work for the benefit of the people, he who applies his energy, initiative and entire personality for the all-round reinforcement of the GDR enjoys high esteem."

Honecker stressed: "We can state with deep satisfaction that the GDR has advanced along a successful path in the past 32 years. All that was achieved in more than three decades testifies to the creative activity of the mass of the people under socialism. The life of the people, their material and cultural living standards have improved substantially. Under the leadership of the working class and its party, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, and in alliance with the cooperative farmers, members of the intelligentsia and all other working people, work has been accomplished of which every GDR citizen can rightly be proud.

He added: "The GDR has once and for all taken its place firmly by the side of the fraternal Soviet Union in the community of socialist states. It is proving to be a reliable, stable factor of socialism and peace in Europe. All who are fighting for national and social liberation of the peoples of the world, for their independence, against imperialism and reaction can rely on it."

Referring to the decisions of the 10th SED Party Congress in April, the general secretary said: "We all know that the targets for the 1980's, decided by the 10th Party Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany, are based on solid foundations. In implementing them we can rely on the confidence of the people, the wisdom and education, the abilities and experience of the working people, on their great performance readiness. Socialist competititon is providing examples of the high efficienty and quality of work which we need in all sectors of society."

"It is our aim to secure and gradually improve the living standards attained by the citizens. Everyone understands that this requires great efforts. The decisive thing is to raise substantially the performance of the tempo-setting branches of industry. I am referring in particular to microelectronics and robot technology. Socialist rationalization serves the good of the people."

Erich Honecker said: "Social security is our everyday reality. This characteristic advantage of socialism influences the thinking and action of people in a lasting manner on major and minor issues. This is all the more so since the capitalist world is revealing its crisis-prone nature with increasing intensity. It is there that insecurity and fear for their livelihood have been spreading lately. In our country the implementation of the right to work is a matter of course of our life, whereas under capitalism it is the concern for one's job. This applies in particular to young people growing up there. But what we have in common is the concern about peace; this is something we do not wish to conceal today."

Honecker had cordial words of recognition for those who have been awarded distinctions, those who, he stressed, had greatly contributed to the good progress of the GDR. "By their achievements they have made an outstanding contribution to further strengthening our socialist fatherland and to tackling the tasks of the future successfully."

The guests at the festive ceremony included the members of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee; Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Horst Sindermann, president of the People's Chamber; Hermann Axen, Kurt Hager, Joachim Herrmann, Heinz Hoffmann, Erich Mielke, Guenter Mittag, Konrad Naumann, Harry Tisch and Paul Verner. Other personalities of public life in the GDR also attended.

BUDAPEST TV COMMENTS ON DEATH OF AS-SADAT

LD062110 Budapest Domestic Television Service in Hungarian 1830 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Unattributed commentary]

[Text] Anwar as-Sadat, who died at the age of 63, started his career together with and at the same time as An-Nasir. Their careers as army officers went back as far as World War II. In 1952, when a group of officers overthrew the feudal monarchy which was under British influence, As-Sadat became vice president to President an-Nasir. Many years later, when his predecessor died in 1970, he succeeded him in his post. Only 2 years later, he expelled from his country the Soviet advisers who were providing assistance for his country within the framework of the treaty of friendship and aid. This anti-Soviet turn also represented a change of direction towards friendship with the United States. However, the turn towards the U.S. was accompanied, of necessity, by a gradual rapprochement with the most important ally of the United States in the Middle East, Israel.

The consequences of these steps proved to be serious: All Arab countries, with the single exception of Sudan, turned against As-Sadat's Egypt. This process reached its apogee at the memorable Camp David agreement, which settled nothing, according to the views of almost all the countries concerned and of the majority of UN member-states. On the contrary, it intensified the tension in the already overcomplicated Middle East crisis.

Apart from the United States and Israeli Governments, almost everyone turned against As-Sadat. Moreover, he also managed to antagonize many different groups of Egyptian society. Over the years he pushed into the background, then persecuted and a few weeks ago arrested all his visible opponents. These included the head of the Coptic Church as well as representatives of extremist Islamic trends, the bourgeois left as well as socialists and communists.

As-Sadat surely must have believed that, in spite of international pressure, he was able to eliminate his internal opposition. Today's events prove -- as it has been proved so often in history -- that in the face of the progressive and advancing movement of the masses of the people not even the detention of hundreds or even thousands of people can provide -- what I may call literally -- life insurance.

As to what may now happen in Egypt, it is impossible to predict at present.

MTI CITES PAP REPORT OF GASPAR LETTER TO WALESA

LD061136 Budapest MTI in English 1036 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Oct (MTI) -- The Polish news agency PAP has reported the message of Sandor Gaspar, secretary-general of the Central Council of Hungarian Trade Unions, to the delegates was read out before the Gdansk congress of Solidarity. In his message Gaspar acknowledged the invitation to the congress which, however, came late and stated: The Hungarian trade unions do not wish to give advice to other countries as to how they should solve their trade union problems. Sandor Gaspar dismissed the appeal of the Solidarity congress to the East European countries as unacceptable.

OLSZOWSKI INTERVIEW ON PZPR, SOLIDARITY

AU061459 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 4 Oct 81 p 9

[Ferenc Varnai article, "Among Polish Communists," on an interview in Warsaw "at the end of September" with PZPR members and lower echelon officials and Stefan Olszowski, PZPR Politburo member and Central Committee secretary]

[Excerpt] At the headquarters of the Central Committee, Stefan Olszowski, member of the Politburo and secretary of the Central Committee, gave the following answer to my question concerning dual [PZPR and Solidarity] membership:

At the beginning we adopted the position that the communists should be wherever the workers are. However, Solidarity's actions have proven that organization has lost its trade union character and has become a political force that opposes the PZPR and socialism and aspires to power. While the Ninth PZPR Congress has set the goal of reaching social accord, normalizing production, improving foodstuff and fuel supplies and approving the laws on trade unions and self-management and other democratic formulas, the Solidarity congress has pitted an entirely different program against all that: questioning state property, instigating the peasants to refuse to pay taxes and so forth. They also want to assume control over all information media and are rudely intervening in the domestic affairs of socialist countries. Thus, there can be no doubt what Central Committee members who are also members of Solidarity should be doing.

[Question] Generally, how does party unity stand?

[Answer] Following the congress' resolutions, party ranks are now being reforged. This is hindered by "horizontal" clusters, several of which are linked to Solidarity. There are certain "leftist" trends as well. We will have to overcome all this. Because of Solidarity's psychological and sometimes physical terror -- but because of our previous shilly-shallying as well -- a section of party members has become passive; many of them accept everything from the higher organs. It is true that the leadership should act resolutely and unequivocally. However, the struggle should be waged not only higher up, but on every level, by everyone in his own sphere.

[Question] What role is being played by the church?

[Answer] There is an extremist trend in the Solidarity leadership that tries to disguise itself as a social democratic one. It includes Karol Modzelewski, Andrzej Gwiazda and others. There is also a christian democratic trend, which is led by Lech Walesa. The former has been gradually gaining ground. This greatly worries the church as well, which would like to see Solidarity under its own influence. Cardinal Wyszynski died recently. He was not a procommunist, but he had a great flair for realities and adopted a responsible attitude in difficult situations. His experiences are undoubtedly missing from the present leadership of the Polish Church. Still, we hope that, after an initial pathseeking, it will be able to catch up with his responsible and realistic policy. We, for our part, want to continue our cooperation with the church. We are prepared to collaborate with all national forces loyal to socialism, including that section of Solidarity which, in the spirit of the agreement of last August, is really ready to operate as a trade union.

[Question] In your opinion, for whom does time work?

[Answer] Up to now, we have been constantly lagging behind; thus, time has worked against us. The situation is now beginning to change. Of course, if we show weakness, Solidarity will again use it for its own advantage. However, if we act courageously and resolutely and combine political, legal and administrative means in the struggle, then time will serve to benefit the party and socialism.

[Varnai's conclusion] In other words: The realization is growing stronger among the Polish comrades that the time has come for resolute deeds and that they require unequivocal decisions and a party that closes its ranks tightly and acts in unison.

Warsaw, October 1981

REPORTAGE OF ANGOLAN PRESIDENT'S VISIT

Arrival in Budapest

LD061718 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Excerpts] The president of Angola's ruling party and head of state of the People's Republic of Angola arrived in Budapest this morning. Jose Eduardo dos Santos and his accompanying delegation were met at Ferihegy Airport by Janos Kadar and Pal Losonczi. The welcoming ceremony is now taking place in front of the parliament building in Lajos Kossuth Square.

Gyory Bernat reports from Kossuth Square on the reception of the Angolan guests: The Angolan party and state delegation, together with their hosts, arrived in front of the National Assembly building in Kossuth Square a few minutes ago. The delegation is led by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and head of state. After the national anthems were played, Janos Kadar and Pal Losonzci welcomed the guests, and now members of the government and the diplomatic corps are being introduced to the Angolan delegation.

The Hungarian-Angolan talks on continuing cooperation at party and state level will begin this afternoon.

Leaders Begin Talks

LD062158 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian 1730 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Official Hungarian-Angolan talks have opened in Budapest. The Hungarian negotiation delegation is headed by Janos Kadar, first secretary of the party Central Committee. The Angolan delegation is headed by Jose Eduardo dos Santos, president of the MPLA-Labor Party and the new head of state of the country. Janos Kadar gave an account of the state of our country and of the implementation of the party congress resolutions. Jose Eduardo dos Santos outlined the efforts his country is making in defense of its independence and territorial integrity.

Relations between the two countries were reviewed at the talks. It was affirmed that there are further opportunities for broadening cooperation. The Angolan party and state delegation arrived in Hungary today.

MEXICAN CP DELEGATION MEETS WITH OFFICIALS, DEPARTS

LD062028 Budapest MTI in English 1747 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 6 October (MTI) -- At the invitation of the HSWP Central Committee a delegation of the Mexican Communist Party paid a visit to Hungary between September 28 and October 6. It was led by Samuel Melendez, member of the party Political Committee, and included Enrique Semo, member of the PC.

The Mexican delegation was received by Istvan Sarlos, member of the HSWP Political Committee and secretary-general of the National Council of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front. The guests had talks also at the Foreign Affairs Department of the HSWP CC, at the Institute for Social Sciences and the Institute of Party History. They met with directors of the Political Academy of the HSWP.

The Mexican party delegation studied the experiences of the Hungarian workers' movement, the alliance policy of the HSWP and the practice of socialist building work.

The delegation of the Mexican Communist Party left Hungary on Tuesday.

U.S. ARMS PROGRAM MAKES LIMITATION 'DIFFICULT'

AU051330 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 3 Oct 81 p 2

[Washington correspondent Peter Vajda report: "Ronald Reagan's Plan To Develop Armaments at an Unprecedented Rate"]

[Summary] At a 2 October press conference, U.S. President Reagan reviewed a plan that envisages the development of the U.S. strategic arsenal at an unprecedented rate.

"The administration, which has increased the country's military budget to a greater degree than any other previous administration in peacetime, has now decided on a 'great leap' in developing strategic armaments. This reflects the intention to upset the equilibrium that has developed in the area of those weapons over decades, although it has been proven more than once in the past decades that new weapons have not enhanced U.S. security and upsetting the equilibrium has not succeeded, either.

"It is true that the Reagan administration is trying to disguise its own endeavors by alleging that the strategic equilibrium has changed in favor of the Soviet Union. It will be remembered, however, that the Carter administration submitted a final report to congress, according to which there is an approximate parity in the area of strategic weapons between the Soviet Union and the United States and that this report was based on the expert opinion of the chiefs of staff. Naturally, the facts could not have changed in such a short time. The United States could not have become vulnerable, as the president maintains.

"According to the unanimous opinion of experts, the new programs now decided upon concern the development of weapons aimed at delivering a first strike. These programs are difficult to separate from the official mentality that considers not only that a nuclear war is possible, but also that it can be won.

"It is stressed in Washington political circles that the decisions that have now been made again bear witness to the fact that the administration, which has rejected SALT II and has gone all out to delay disarmament talks, regards armament as the paramount issue. It is obvious: If these programs are adopted and their implementation begins, then the limitation of strategic weapons will become incomparably more difficult."

HUNGARIAN-U.S. TRADE COUNCIL HOLDS SESSION

LD061732 Budapest MTI in English 1732 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 6 October (MTI) — The seventh session of the Hungarian-U.S. Economic Council, which was established by the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States in 1975, concluded here today. The two countries' businessmen discussed the opportunities for developing cooperation.

During the talks both parties insisted on the establishment of long-term commercial and industrial cooperation and in this connection, the mutual extension of custom formalities free from discrimination. Both parties consider necessary the rapid introduction of U.S. export licenses.

Jozsef Marjai, deputy president of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, received Zoltan Merszei, co-chairman of the Hungarian-U.S. Economic Council. Several members of the U.S. delegation called on Peter Veress, minister of foreign trade, and Karoly Szarka, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Following the final session, Jozsef Molnar, director-general of Tannimpex, and Zoltan Merszei, chairman of the Occidental Petroleum Corporation, co-chairmen of the Hungarian-U.S. Economic Council, stressed that many further opportunities for expanding cooperation between enterprises offered themselves. At present 23 Hungarian enterprises have relations with U.S. firms and its extension depends on the enterprises.

TU DELEGATION RETURNS FROM INDOCHINA TOUR

LD062034 Budapest MTI in English 1741 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 6 Oct (MTI) -- A delegation of the national center of Hungarian Trade Unions (SZOT) which, headed by Deputy Secretary-General Sandor Jakab, had visited Kampuchea, Laos and Vietnam, returned to Budapest today. The SZOT delegation had talks with the trade union leaders of the Indo-Chinese countries mentioned, and on the further development of relations between the Hungarian trade unions and the trade union centres of the countries concerned.

PRC AMBASSADOR'S NATIONAL DAY RECEPTION

AU051356 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 2 Oct 81 p 5

[MTI report: "Reception on the Occasion of China's National Holiday"]

[Text] Feng Yujiu, ambassador of the PRC in Budapest, on Thursday gave a reception at the embassy on the occasion of his country's national holiday. The reception was attended by Vilmos Saghy, minister of internal trade; Vencel Hazi, deputy minister of foreign affairs; and several other representatives of our economic, social and cultural life. Many heads and members of diplomatic missions also were present.

MARJAI VIEWS ECONOMIC OUTLOOK, 'POWER RELATIONS'

LD051846 Budapest MTI in English 1041 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Budapest, 5 October (MTI) -- "The external conditions can in no way be expected to turn for the better soon," said Hungarian Vice-Premier Jozsef Marjai in his interview on topical economic policy issues, published in the Sunday issue of MAGYAR HIRLAP.

"The few years' spell of deterioration in the international political situation is holding on for the time being," he continued. "The reason and background lies in the reaction of the aggressive imperialist circles to the world's changes unfavorable to them, and to the readjustment trends in the world economy. The upper hand in the U.S. administration has been gained by forces which seek to strengthen their positions and stop the forces of socialism and progress by pursuing an adventurist policy jeopardizing world peace. These are dangerous illusions to be taken seriously. The period of detente which gave us calm and security for our peaceful building work for a long time will come back never again in its original form. But sufficient efforts may reverse the negative processes. We hope that forces ready to cooperate on a sensible basis will resume gaining weight in the Western world. In this respect we could find a common language even with some circles of the big capital, something that remains our prospective goal.

"Realization and acceptance of the real power relations prevailaing in the world is the only alternative also for imperialism in the long run. Any endeavour to alter them by violent means carries the peril of a warlike conflict. Such being the condition, it shows even more clearly: We have to go ahead with our explicit, honest and unequivocal policy. We have to strengthen our alliance and unity with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries. We have to set up our international activity also in the non-socialist world, taking resort to the leverage and political and moral credit which our country won in the recent decades.

"Things are no better in the world economy either. Certain improvement may be expected, but we are facing a decade likely to be burdened by waves of fluctuation, recession and stagnation. On the capitalist markets we have to appear more firmly and more consistently than so far, using both economic and political means to safeguard our own interests and fight any form of political andeconomic discrimination. We have to supervise our hitherto system of relations with economic and financial institutions of the non-socialist world. We should do everything in our power to improve our positions."

To the question what we can expect from the coming year of socialist integration and advancing CEMA cooperation, which are dominant in Hungary's foreign economic relations, Jozsef Marjai replied:

"We have to note and understand that our friends are at the same stage as we are as regards the economic content of their development. If not exactly on the same level, they face similar problems. It is the task of all of us to mobilize all possible reserves for augmenting our means of development and making up for the shortcomings. The socialist world knows no interchangeable superfluity, nor should it be forgotten how big extra weight is imposed by the maintenance and development of means needed for keeping the international situation stable and preserving world peace. So, as far as the socialist integration is concerned, the quest for common solutions to the common problems was never before so much important as it is today. Solutions are needed which help every member country accomplish its internal economic and political goals, create additional sources for us and strengthen its position on the world market. These are lasting and perspective objectives. What the present day demands us to do is to fully meet our mutual contractual obligations, keeping the terms of deadline, quality and manner. I must say we have nothing to complain about in this respect. We take good care of duly fulfilling our duties, and expect the same from our socialist partners too," said Jozsef Marjai.

BRIEFS

SANDINIST DELEGATION'S ARRIVAL -- At the invitation of the MSZMP Central Committee, a delegation of the Nicaraguan Sandinist National Liberation Front led by Henry Chavez, member of the Sandinist Assembly, arrived in our country on Thursday. [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Sep 81 p 4 AU]

CHEMICAL PROTOCOL WITH GDR -- Bela Rabi, secretary of state of the Ministry of Industry, and Guenter Prey, GDR deputy minister of chemical industry, signed the protocol on a session of the Hungarian-GDR working group for the chemical industry in Budapest on Thursday. They concluded that in recent years good results have been attained in specialization of the production of chemical industry products. In addition, research programs coordinated under technical-scientific cooperation are successfully proceeding, although interenterprise relations require strengthening. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 25 Sep 81 p 11 AU]

DELEGATION TO NICARAGUA -- A market exploration delegation has gone to Nicaragua to discuss further developing economic relations between Hungary and Nicaragua, as well as the deepening of interenterprise relations. The delegation is led by Mrs Janos Keseru, cochairman of the Hungarian Chamber of Commerce. [Text] [Budapest MAGYAR NEMZET in Hungarian 29 Sep 81 p 6 AU]

FURTHER ON 5, 6 OCT TU CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

PAP Reviews 5 Oct Session

LD061032 Warsaw PAP in English 2009 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 5 Oct (PAP) -- The tenth day of the Solidarity union congress started in Gdansk today. The delegates heard the results of the voting for membership of the union's Audit and National Consultative Commissions. Following two rounds of the voting for the Audit Commission composition, there are still two vacancies left.

As a result of the first round of the voting for the National Consultative Commission [KKP], the majority of the union's small regional chapters managed to get their representatives on the commission, while big ones, like Gdansk, Mazowsze, Lower Silesia or Slasko-Dabrowski, failed to have all their mandate appointments named. Hence the need for another round of voting. So far the mandates went to Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski (Lower Silesia), Grzegorz Palka (Lodz), and Andrzej Rozplochowski (Slasko-Dabrowski), plus automatic appointments for chairmen of regional chapters.

The congress took the decision to send a message to the Council of State pointing to instances of sacking public prosecutor's offices employees with Solidarity membership.

The delegates also adopted a resolution placing the KKP under the obligation to seek ways of exacting financial claims by Poles who stayed abroad at the time of World War II. A resolution was adopted obligating the union's new authorities to support efforts to register the Solidarnosc Union of Private Transport Drivers.

In a resolution on national education the congress stressed that education of the younger generation is a concern of the union and of the entire society. The system of education cannot serve interim goals of the authorities. It must respect the rights of children to live in truth, guarantee all young people equal opportunities of start and development in life and promote correct mental and physical development of the youngest, the resolution said. It stressed that Solidarnosc will back all initiatives for the society to take over control over education of the younger generation and will take steps to promote restoration of the prestige of the teacher's profession.

Discussion on [word indistinct] financial activity took up an extensive part of the morning debate. The first reading of the congress draft resolution on this issue took place.

During the evening press conference most questions concerned the union's stand on the raise in the prices of cigarettes and matches. When asked by the Warsaw correspondent of FINANCIAL TIMES, Jan Rulewski replied that after the June talks with the government representatives of stabilizing the economy the authorities could get the impression that the union will not oppose the raise.

However, Rulewski firmly denied that either Bogdan Lis or he allegedly signed a document on the increase or on the union's consent to the move. The union is for the change in prices. However, it is concerned with the issues of compensation. The reform of prices is necessary but it does not mean only increases but also a change in the relations of prices of individual goods. Jan Rulewski came out for the new authorities of Solidarnosc to negotiate on this issue rather than the congress whose time is too valuable.

When asked about the situation in the Farmers' Solidarity, chairman of this union Jan Kulaj stressed the need for cooperation between the workers' and the Farmers' Solidarity. In his opinion, the 10-million union cannot guard only the workers' rights but it must also help the farmers. Perhaps, we will have to force the workers to cooperate, said Jan Kulaj. At first, we should speak about how to produce and then how to distribute.

The debates of the 10th day of the Solidarnosc congress ended after 10:30 p.m. The union's stand on the raise in the cigarette prices was again discussed at the end of the debates. Problems of the union's financial economy were also examined. No decisions were made on either issue, and the delegates resolved to discuss them still next day.

Only several speakers managed to take part in the main programme discussion. Jan Jedrzejewski of Gdansk criticized a draft of the programme presented to the congress and proposed that it be worked out in two versions: for the coming period and for a more distant future. He criticized the fact that key, in his opinion, problems of social policy were treated marginally in the draft of the programme and in the congress discussion. The big leaders are interested most in the issues of big policy rather than in questions of the greatest interest to people: welfare, health protection, the minimum wage, food, housing construction and family.

His statement corresponded with the one made by Jan Luzny of the Silesian region, also a worker. He spoke about the need for modesty of the union's activists who should not forget whom they are to serve. He came against combining posts in the union's authorities. He was probably the only speaker who pointed to the need for and the value of genuine professional work which should be paid according to effort and skills. Meanwhile, on the one hand, people do not want to work, and, on the other, the wage systems do not differentiate between a good and skilled worker and a bad one.

'Concluding Days'

LD061906 Poznan Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Marek Tischke report from the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Text] This is surely one of last days of the Solidarity congress. Since this morning's telephone connections did not succeed, I shall say a few words about yesterday's press conference. It was entirely devoted to the matter of the situation in the regions, precisely in the Silesia-Dabrowa region, after the announcement of the price rise of cigarettes.

It transpired that the workforce of one of the enterprises in Tychy decided to undertake a short protest strike. It ended fairly quickly.

During the conference one of the delegates from Bydgoszcz, Antoni Tokarczuk, said that such a rise only has a chance of being accepted in Poland when somebody supports it with his prestige. In his opinion, the government certainly does not have this prestige at the moment. Today all increases must be justified not only economically, but above all socially and morally.

One of the first actions of the new National Commission ought to be working out principles for negotiating with the government.

At this moment there is the opportunity to pass on the results of the elections. We already know the full composition of Poznan members of the National Commission. Besides the earlier elected member Waclaw Adamczyk, and the outgoing member (Zozislaw Rufalak), Sliwinski and Lech Dymarski were also elected.

Also, the 21 members of the National Auditing Commission were elected. Jerzy Nowak did not survive the elections; he lost the struggle for the last free place on the commission in the fourth round.

Voting was completed on the resolution concerning the financial management of the union. It was (?established) that: 75 percent remains at the works' commission; 22 percent in the regional board; and 3 percent for the needs of the National Commission.

The principle was also adopted that a member's contribution is equivalent to 1 percent of his wages; whereby it is not of course excluded that contributions may be higher -- but this depends exclusively on the decisions of the union members in the enterprise.

The wages tariff for full-time activists of Solidarity, which was worked out earlier, before the congress, met with criticism by the delegates. Therefore, a decision was adopted empowering the chairman of the region [as heard]; and it is to amount to double the value of the average national salary, that is at present about Z14,000.

Also, statutory allowances were standardized. At present, in the case of the birth of a child, Z2,000 will be obtained, while the allowance in the case of death of a unionist's family member will (?be) Z1,500, and in the case of the death of a Solidarity member -- Z3,000.

The debate is still in progress on the amended points of the program, since in the [word indistinct] elections only the selection of three members of the National Commission from the Mazowsze region remains, and one each from Gdansk and Lower Silesia. It is expected that shortly all the Solidarity authorities will be known.

The progress of work on the program is such that one should expect the conclusion of the congress tomorrow. There still remains before the delegates the adoption of a resolution concerning the latest price rises. At this moment, six versions of this resolution are being read. This concerns not only prices of cigarettes, but also processed foods, fish and motoring services. Here the object of the delegates' interest is not so much the question of the increase itself as it is the methods of introducing it. The fact which arouses the most indignation in Solidarity congress delegates is that the increase was introduced during the course of the union's supreme body.

The most serious problem at the moment is to ensure the further efficient organization of providing services for the congress delegates. Since it was not envisaged that it would last so long, problems have appeared with providing accommodations and food for the delegates. (?They say) that whole groups of delegates are being shunted from one living quarter to another. Also, the food fund allotted to the congress has run out. WEll, at least one can forese that these really are the final moments of the meeting of the union's parliament.

Another argument which speaks for the concluding of the congress as quickly as possible is the mental, physical and intellectual exhaustion of the delegates. Eleven days of full concentration, often lasting for 12 hours a day, is making itself felt.

In particular, this situation gives rise to the fear that some important decisions may be taken a little hastily. Therefore, all are awaiting the end of the congress, but in such a way that this should be to the advantage of the NSZZ Solidarity, and -- by the same token -- for the whole country.

PAP Reports 6 Oct Session

LD062338 Warsaw PAP in English 2035 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- The eleventh day of the Solidarity congress under way in Gdansk started from the announcement of results of the elections to the union's national authorities conducted yesterday: round two of elections to the National Consultative Commission and round three of elections to the (?Audit) Commission. Neither of the election rounds brought conclusive results, so the delegates set about conducting more election rounds. All the 21 members of the Audi Commission were elected in the fourth round.

The remaining part of the morning session was (?devoted) to a discussion on the resolution on the union's financial activity. A resolution on this question was adopted.

The amount of membership fees was settled. Those Solidarity members who work will contribute 1 per cent of their pay, and pensioners will pay some 10-40 zlotys monthly, depending on the amount of the pension they receive.

The delegates adopted principles for the remuneration of those elected union activists who work for the union full-time. It was agreed that the basic pay of head of the National Consultative Commission [NCC] and heads of regional boards will be twice the national average pay, i.e. at present some 14,000 zlotys. Added to that will be benefit for heads of regions exceeding 1,000,000 members, 250,000 and 500,000 members. Thus, head of the NCC will get over 18,000 zlotys monthly, and heads of large regions, some 17,000 zlotys.

As regards those last decisions, the delegation of the Jelenia Gora region protested saying the amounts of money were excessive. Also criticized was the provision that activists elected to full-time posts (?should) not be paid less than they received on the previous post, on the grounds that this makes it possible to raise the remuneration of union activists to infinity. The protests were not recognized.

The new principles of financial economy within Solidarity will be effective as of 1 November.

In the afternoon, the congress adopted a resolution on the protection of the union's press and publications and independent publications, and also adopted a letter to the Sejm demanding that an end be put to reprisals against the Solidarity members for their publishing, distribution and propaganda activity.

The delegates were also told about the first session of the newly elected Audit Solidarity Commission.

Like the preceding, the fourth round of elections to the National Consultative Commission did not bring final results. None of the seats from the regions of Gdansk and Mazowsze have been taken. The voting will be continued. A motion was offered in the evening to finally close the congress tomorrow night. Some delegates also demanded that the discussion on the union's programme be kept down to the most important statements and the whole long document be finally elaborated by the newly elected NCC. However, both motions were defeated in a vote.

Delegate of the Mazowsze region Bronislaw Geremek said the congress had devoted too much time to matters other than the discussion of the essential programme. The commission which worked out the document was not competent enough for the congress to recognize the draft programme without a plenary debate. Geremek also added that only a half of the commission's members had taken part in this work.

A discussion on details of the programme formulations commenced.

Late at night, after appropriate corrections were made, the delegates endorsed four out of the seven chapters of the union's programme. One of the delegates proposed that a sentence of the programme, which read "...We are striving to a self-governed Poland" be completed with the word "socialist." The chairman of the debates declined saying the content of the word "self-governed" included "socialist."

The debates closed late at night.

A discussion on several drafts of a resolution on the union's stand on price raises was going on during the afternoon session. Out of the six proposals, the main motive of which was criticism of the government's conduct on this question, the debaters chose a draft forwarded by Karol Modzelewski, a delegate from the Lower Silesia.

The main assertions of this document hold that the congress comes out for paying compensations for the considerable raises in prices of essential goods and services, carried out recently, and assigning the entire revenues obtained from the increases in the prices of cigarettes and alcohol for families with the lowest incomes under the control of the union.

The resolution says that if the union does not reach agreement with the government on these issues, it would stage a general warning strike. The congress, the resolution says, would call on factories to refrain from staging local protest actions.

Also today, the congress adopted a resolution reminding factories of their duty to apply normal principles of remunerating people taking part in warning strikes from July to October 1981. The congress also said that a strike in the Szczyglowice mine was justified.

Representatives of the Solidarity factory organizations in big plants of the Mazovia region sent a resolution to the congress saying that, in the opinion of the crews, so far the delegates devoted little time to welfare issues, including the price raises lowering living standards of the working people. The crews demand the immediate starting of the talks between representatives of the government and the newly elected National Consultative Commission on these important issues, that is, a reform of prices and a system of compensations and also examining the rise in the costs of living of the working people from January 1981. The Stalowa Wola steel mill Solidarity organization sent a Telex to the congress voicing anxiety over the principles of remunerating union activists. A special award for the unionist activity is an absurdity, the Telex said.

Congress Delegates Composition

LD062116 Warsaw PAP in English 2030 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- The long awaited data on the social composition of the delegates to the Solidarity congress were published.

Persons of the workers' origin prevail among the delegates -- 47 per cent, and of the intelligentsia descent -- 32.8 per cent; 14.4 per cent of persons come from the peasant families.

Half of the delegates graduated from higher schools -- 50.7 per cent, 35.7 per cent of the delegates graduated from secondary schools, 9.98 per cent of persons graduated from vocational schools and 2.6 per cent of persons went to elementary schools; 10.6 per cent studied at higher schools and [words indistinct] titles of the doctors of sciences. One person is a professor.

31 per cent of the delegates come from small factories employing up to 500 workers, 38 per cent of the delegates represent medium-sized plants (between 500 and 3,000 workers). The remaining 31 per cent come from big plants with over 3,000 people.

48.2 per cent of the delegates took part in the strikes preceding the foundation of Solidarity and 10.5 per cent headed the factory striking committees.

Current chairmen of the factory committees account for 29.8 per cent of the delegates. Members of the Solidarity regional authorities account for 51 per cent of the delegates.

SOLIDARITY CONGRESS RESUMES DEBATE 7 OCT

LD071034 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1000 GMT 7 Oct 81

[Text] The debates of the latest day of the first national Solidarity congress were resumed just after 0900 this morning in the Oliwia Hall in Gdansk.

It was reported that the fifth round of elections to the National Consultative Commission has still not brought a final solution. One seat still remains to be occupied, that of the Gdansk region. Thus a sixth round of voting has been called.

The congress has been approving the various sections of the program resolution. A discussion has begun on the fifth chapter, entitled "The [words indistinct] Community and Social Policy."

MEDIA COMMENT ON SOLIDARITY DRAFT PROGRAM

Formation of Program

LD060912 Warsaw PAP in English 0815 GMT 6 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- TRYBUNA LUDU correspondent at the Solidarnosc congress observed that a month after the opening of the congress only one of its aims -- the adoption of the statute -- has been implemented.

"Meanwhile we have to wait for the full results of the elections and the programme of the union before we can try to predict the course the supreme authorities of the union will take.

"In my view, the trouble with the programme is that it is emerging outside the stream of programme discussion", the correspondent wrote, referring to the adoption of unplanned resolutions, both during the first and the current round of the debates.

As a fresh example of this trend Jerzy Bielecki sees the resolution passed on Monday on national education, which, he wrote, was in keeping with the method of accomplished facts supported by some people. After the adoption of such a resolution the shape of the relevant passage of the programme was a foregone conclusion, and the same happened before with regard to self-management, People's Councils or the scope of Solidarnosc activity.

"It is not true that one cannot hear authentic unionist voices in the Oliwia Hall. They are there, but it is hard for them to resound over the chorus of people for whom the union is only a tool and not a goal", the correspondent concluded.

'Political Party Program'

LD061526 Warsaw PAP in English 1414 GMT 6 Oct 81

["Trade Union or Political Party Programme?" -- PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, 6 Oct (PAP) -- The Army daily ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI publishes an article headlined as above in which it analyses the Solidarity draft programme debated by the organisation's congress in Gdansk. Its ultimate conclusion is that it is a programme of a political party. The daily says:

"In the social belief the congress was to have produced the programme of Solidarity as of a trade union organisation. But it is not a trade union programme. In a word, it is a programme of a political party seeking a takeover of power in our country.

"In social consciousness this programme runs counter to expectations. Waiting for the Solidarity programme, the society hoped that it will above all sort out union problems. Instead the society gets a compilation of aims -- actions and political intentions which deal largely with overall social concerns, matters above trade union terms of reference, with the almost total exclusion of the basic problem: the role and tasks of Solidarity as a trade union."

Next the daily observes: "Solidarity leaders keep saying: We have a programme. By so saying they are trying to create the impression that theirs is the only good programme and only Solidarity is able to ensure its implementation to lead the country out of the crisis and ensure stabilization to a society worn out by the difficulties. Not a single Solidarity leader is known to have mentioned on this occasion that what the union is proposing, generally speaking, amounts to postulates culled from the party and government programme."

ZOLNIERZ WOLNOSCI continues: "The Solidarity draft programme contains numerous postulates and proposals contained in the PUWP programme approved by the 9th congress and successive CC plenary meetings, being realized and elaborated by the Polish Government. Through its tactic of rejectign or ignoring solutions implemented and proposed by the authorities Solidarity leadership is trying to prove the alleged indolence of the authorities and generate a social conviction that changes are necessary.

"At the same time it proffers as its own undertakings taken from the party and government programme in an effort to win social approval for itself as the sole force possessing a programme and capable of carrying it through.

"These programme principles can only be defined as a form of struggle for power, as implementation of a strategic plan of taking over power through appropriation of the PUWP programme only to hold it out in front of that very party and authority as its own.

"It would be a serious error to say that the Solidarity draft contains only intentions and postulates taken from the PUWP programme. The very wide project abounds with provisions enough to draw up programmes of several political parties with different ideological and programme orientation. The whole is arranged round the leitmotif -- the intention to bring in a new political system and, strictly speaking, reconstruction of the bourgeois-democratic system with intense religious colour."

The daily concludes: "The Solidarity congress may transform the union, if it approves the programme, into a political party formally, because this has already happened in point of fact. This raises the question about interpretation of the Gdansk and Szczecin agreements and other agreements, as well as the union statute which unequivocally states that Solidarity has no intention to become a political party. This question may and should be put very clearly."

ZYCIE WARSZAWY CITES 29 SEP WALESA SPEECH

AU070700 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish 30 Sep 81 p 2

[Leszek Bedkowski, Janusz Reiter report on the 29 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpt] Lech Walesa took the floor to express thanks for the birthday wishes for him and to speak in the discussion, having received the permission of the delegates to do so in line with the rules binding on everyone. His improvised -- as usual -- speech was a self-examination, a confrontation with the past and at attack against some of his opponents.

I would like to answer some questions, Walesa began his speech. Kalinowski and Lis were responsible for the Foreign Department, for the quality of the people sent abroad. None of us had the authority to open any bureaus abroad. I would like to be told here who authorized some people to speak on our behalf and to take action that -- on reflection -- attacked us and the seriousness of our union. (...)

Evaluating the past year of Solidarity's existence, Walesa said: "However you look at it, the fact is that for the first time 10 million people attempted to set up a kind of organization. Of course, the strike was over, and the people went home, but a few who thought about the future remained behind.

"True, we did not do that in a democratic manner, but we had neither a chair, a table nor men because most of us -- most of you -- were at work. We had to make do with those who were willing to work. Many of those volunteers have stayed to this very day. There were absolutely reliable activists, but many people came to us for a certain purpose -- there were the frightened, the slyboots, the thieves and others.

"At the same time, during that period we decided to buy printing machines, we collected funds, we had no accounts and we had no authority from you. We had to hide those funds in presbyteries and elsewhere to ensure that no one stole them. It is true that much money was lost and many printing machines disappeared. (..

"At the same time, I have always thought that you will understand our situation, that is, that we cannot be brought to account on not being democratic since I did not ask you opinion when I sent a fellow to the United States to organize a store of medicines, I did not ask you about the statute and I did not ask you 2 days ago whether I have the right to decide myself or to wait for the congress to decide on whether to start talks with the government commission. There are things that must be done, that decide nothing, but that require work.

"We must treat that previous period differently -- as not very democratic and as without a program. We will map out a program as of this congress. We will contract people's loyalty and elect authorities in a truly democratic manner. The people who have proven to be uncommitted and even criminal will take their rest. They must be dropped. From then on it will be possible to bring one to account. (...)

"As long as I am at the head of this movement, no one who has an appetite for this movement -- the party -- government administration, the church, KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and other organizations -- will conquer our union. I have grown very close to the KOR movement and that is why I had obligations because KOR people helped me during the initial periods. But I also had the obligation -- in ending the great strike -- that no one, not even my wife and children, would stop me. I will not allow this union of ours to be taken over by anyone at all.

"And you, ladies and gentlemen in this hall, wonder how it was possible that the people who fought so well together -- Andrzej Gwiazda and Mrs Walentynowicz -- are now fighting? What is happening? You might assume that I was obliged to work within that group. Of course, Andrzej Gwiazda himself admitted that he was wrong when he suggested that I was pushing for power, cutting out friends from Gdansk and that I abandoned the Interfactory Founding Committee in favor of the KKP [National Consultive Committee]. My conflict with Mrs Walentynowica began at that time. As long as I am in this movement, it will be an employee-worker movement and no one -- not the first, second or 10th adviser -- will have a decisive voice.

"Let any adviser get up and say that he has ever turned my head. Never. Nor has my head been turned by any of the groups that are in opposition within our movement. They are in our movement, but they are not a decisive factor in it.

"At the same time some groups had great appetites. I had to smother them and I have smothered them." Do

WALESA CLAIMS TO BE 'RADICAL BUT NOT AN IDIOT'

PM071025 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 4-5 Oct 81 pp 1, 12

[Maria de Hernandez-Paluch 3 October interview in Gdansk with Solidarity Chairlam Lech Walesa: "I Remain Radical, But I Respect Moscow...."]

[Text] Gdansk, 3 October -- "I am still a radical," Lech Walesa told us in an exclusive interview granted to LA REPUBBLICA immediately after the vote which reelected him leader of the Polish independent trade union Solidarity.

[Question] Mr Walesa, did you expect to be reelected with only 55 percent of the votes?

[Answer] The result depended on me.

[Question] How do you mean?

[Answer] Had I wanted to I could have secured 90 percent of the votes. But I did not want to.

[Question] Why not?

[Answer] I had an aim: to show that we must stop rewarding grand eloquence and start rewarding action. I deliberately delivered a stupid speech to show that even after a year eloquence still influences election results.

[Question] What is the main task that awaits you now?

[Answer] The first month will be devoted to reorganizing the trade union. It will be a period of great confusion because it will seem like the trade union has emerged weakened from the congress. Then the opposite will happen: It will become apparent that the trade union has emerged strengthened.

[Question] Is it true that you have signed a pact with the party to restrain the radical tendencies present in Solidarity?

[Answer] No, you must be kidding....

[Question] What has happened to your radicalism?

[Answer] I am still a radical. I am even more radical than before, but I am not an idiot. If some day I were to rail against the friendship with the Soviet Union and it turned off the oil, I would be a real idiot.

PRESS COMMENTS ON SOLIDARITY CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

TRYBUNA LUDU on 29 Sep Session

AU070710 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 81 pp 1, 2

[Teresa Grabczynska, Zbigniew Wrobel report on the 29 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Excerpts] The morning session of the fourth day of the first Solidarity congress was taken up almost entirely by the discussion on the report presented by the National Consultative Commission (KKP). Almost 40 delegates took the floor. The discussion revealed a number of trends. Many delegates stressed the general nature of the formulations of the report and the lack of a penetrating and critical evaluation of the KKP's activities in the past year as well as the lack of individual treatment of the activities of the members of the Solidarity leadership. That is why the speeches from the floor contained phrases like "a report in the old style," "sweet and highfalutin words," "a smooth report with no conclusions."

The discussion produced enough observations to the effect that whatever is bad in Solidarity has been caused by the misunderstandings and quarrels among the activists of the highest authorities and by upgrading the role of advisers and experts. That was what was said by Jan Jedrzejewski from Gdansk, Lech Winiarski from Bydgoszcz and others. Stanislaw Szymkowiak from Zielona Gora noted that the electorate regards the KKP's work as balancing on the brink of a chasm and has enough of an uncertain tomorrow.

The discipline at the congress and personal strife are embarrassing and are reflected in the KKP report, which deals with everything and nothing.

The afternoon session began with the press spokesman's information on the congress' impact on the domestic and foreign mass media. Radio Free Europe was the foreign center he cited most extensively. He negatively evaluated our daily's commentaries of 29 September on KOR [Social Self-Defense Committee] and Prof Edward Lipinski's related speech.

Further, the congress approved the activities of the present KKP in the past year by 557 votes, with 64 votes against and 71 abstentions.

The 29 September press conference was attended by Andrzej Gwiazda, Karol Modzelewski, Zbigniew Bujak, Wladyslaw Fraszyniuk, who is chairman of the Lower Silesia region, and others.

Some questions concerned L. Walesa's congress speech to the effect that there are theives and slyboots in Solidarity because printing machines have disappeared.

J. Onyszkiewicz said that it was true that sums of money that were small as far as Solidarity is concerned, but that were otherwise signifant, had disappeared together with tape recording equipment. However, he said, such incidents are inevitable during the hot period of Solidarity's establishment. It is also assumed that not all printing machines received by Solidarity have been registered. A. Gwiazda added that these machines are in operation and continue to print, but that their owners would not say where they are. They would be stupid to say because this would reduce their chances for obtaining new machines, he added.

Many journalist asked A. Gwiazda to confirm and explain the rift between Walesa and him, but he avoided an unequivocal statement.

Other questions concerned the part of the congress discussion on the divergencies between the intelligentsia and the workers and on the role of Solidarity's advisers and experts. K. Modzelewski said that accusations leveled at the experts offend the activists because such accusations imply that activists want to avoid responsibility for decisions. J. Onyszkiewicz said that delegates should not criticize the advisers.

Anticipating the programmatic discussion, some journalists asked about the Solidarity program. Mr Modzelewski was one of those who rather extensively presented his concept and described himself as a so-called fundamentalist in opposition to the so-called pragmatists. Referring to his earlier speeches, he spoke of the theory of "small steps" and said that achieving maximum aims would be tantamount to adopting a "no" program and to a paper war with the setup [uklad] in which we live. The results of such a war would be most negative. I prefer, Modzelewski said, a transformation of public life based on the idea of self-management.

Bielecki Commentary

AU070705 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 30 Sep 81 p 2

[Jerzy Bielecki commentary on the 29 September session of the Solidarity congress in Gdansk]

[Text] Better late than never. On the 10th day of the congress -- counting the two rounds -- trade union voices were heard during the debate on the report submitted by the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. During the discussion we heard for the first time (we disregard formal statements) questions subh as: What is the reaction of our members? What have we done for them?

Karol Szadurski from Mazowsze said striaght off that during the first round of the congress Solidarity miners had declared their readiness to strike -- not against the authorities, but against the KKP, which is not implementing the contracted obligations. People are expecting results of specific activity, he added, but we have suffered a defeat on the plane of moral renewal. Henryk Kulinski from Swietokrzyskie region said that the authorities have not been elected as yet, but there are already people who are afriad that certain persons may be elected. There is no place in the union for princes and dignitaries. Andrzej Cierniewski from the Silesia-Dabrowa region concluded that the union has still not learned democracy. We also clap our hands too often in this hall, he added.

People also spoke about food rationing and of dividing employees into categories, about difficulties of shopping and commuting and about many issues that, it was said, should have been included in the KKP report, which, it was said, should primarily concern the implementation of the Gdansk, Szczecin and Jastrzebie agreements. This is what the report lacks.

However, we all know that when two people say the same thing they may not mean the same thing, and this is what the long discussion was about. Everyone, literally everyone, referred to the fact that they are backed by a union of several million members and someone even claimed that Solidarity has 30 million sympathizers. Many delegates expressed their concern for the interests of the so-called union grassroots. Representatives from the Cegielski plant, Upper Silesia, Opole and Wroclaw were meaningfully concerned for the interests of trade unionists, but for Mr Rozplochowski the "concern" for workers' interests was a prelude for a gross attack on the apparatus of power.

Rozplochowski did not mince words in his hatred of socialism. He called the government a Cossack unit [wataha], branded it as dishonest and said that European culture is alien to it. Do not allow ourselves, he shouted, to be seated alongside those who break the laws. Nor did Lech Sobieszak from Gdansk -- the same who proposed during the first round that constitutional formulations should be expunged from the statute -- mince words. He said straight off: "They behave like swines toward us....But how do we respond?" Mr Andrzej Gwiazda held his nerves under control. Calmly but determinedly he tried to convince the congress that Solidarity had not taken any action since its registration last November. Mr Gwiazda equals Solidarity's activity with unceasing struggle, of which he has still not had enough....

The questions and doubts that made their appearance in the Oliwia Hall on 29 September -- questions put to the delegates and the entire union -- were quite accurately summed up by Zygmunt Zawojski from Sub-Beskids: "Where are today the workers who signed the agreement...? The union has ceased to bother with workers for some time now. Shall we absolve those who created the union or those undefined people who change their spots from one KKP meeting to another....?"

As you see, the Tuesday discussion was a little different. Antisocialist demagogy has ceased to dominate the congress, although, unfortunately, there is still a great deal of it.

Conciliatory Moves Rejected

AU070715 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 30 Sep 81 p 2

[PAP report: "In Light of the Proceedings Held to Date" -- capitalized passage published in bold face]

[Excerpts] PAP -- THE FIRST STAGE OF THE SOLIDARITY CONGRESS HAS BEEN CRITICALLY ASSESSED BY THE PZPR CENTRAL COMMITTEE POLITBURO. The discussion and decisions contradicted the principles of Polish foreign policy, and many delegates declared a struggle against the authorities.

Despite the fact that the first stage of the congress in the Olivia Hall aroused protest and concern, THE STATE AUTHORITIES DID NOT WITHDRAW THE HAND STRETCHED OUT TO SOLIDARITY because they assumed that the second stage of the proceedings would not be directed by the extremist; they hoped that the emphatically negative assessment of the line adopted early in September would bring Solidarity leaders to their senses and would arouse in them the feeling of responsibility for the country's destiny.

In his 24 September Sejm speech, Army gen Wojciech Jaruzelski, premier, said the THE POLICY OF UNDERSTANDING AND PARTNERSHIP DEPENDED ON A CHANGE IN THE LINE CHOSEN BY THE CONGRESS OF THE DELEGATES DURING THE FIRST STAGE OF THE DEBATES.

ON THE FIRST 3 DAYS OF THE SECOND STAGE OF THE PROCEEDINGS, THE NATIONAL CONGRESS OF THE DELEGATES IGNORED THE APPEAL BY THE COUNCIL OF MINISTERS CHAIRMAN AS IF IT HAD NEVER BEEN MADE. ON THE CONTRARY, THE SUBSTANCE AND THE TENOR OF THE DEBATE SHOWED THAT THE CHARGES MADE BY THE PARTY LEADERSHIP AND THE GOVERNMENT AGAINST THE DECISIONS OF THE FIRST STAGE OF THE CONGRESS WERE FULLY SUBSTANTIATED AND REMAINED VALID.

During the first days of the second stage, the delegates discussed the Sejm acts concerning self-management and the enterprise, which were passed in a version respecting Solidarity's point of view. However, the congress was reluctant to accept that fact, construing it as an attempt on the part of the supreme state authorities to provide a platform for peaceful cooperation without conflicts. That compromise -- and that was one more far-reaching compromise on the part of the state authorities -- was only treated as a springboard for another confrontation. The field for that confrontation had already been delineated: that was the question of the list of enterprises of special importance, enterprises at which the state must preserve its particular influence as stipulated by the law.

ATTACKS WERE LAUNCHED NOT ONLY AGAINST THE PRESENT COMPROMISES AND ANY PROSPECTS FOR CONCILIATION IN THE FUTURE, BUT ALSO AGAINST THE PAST COMPROMISES. For example, while reproving those union leaders who, after the Bydgoszcz incident, concluded the so-called Warsaw agreement, someone said from the platform that, as a result of that agreement, "ALL THOSE CRIMINALS, WHO IN SOME CASES SHOULD EVEN BE HANGED, WILL NOT BE BROUGHT TO ACCOUNT." Obviously, he meant state representatives. Someone else, who interrupted Sz. Jakubowicz's speech, snorted angrily that "THERE WERE FORCES IN THE UNION COOPERATING WITH THE WARSAW APPARATUS." In other words, talks with the government alone are sufficient to incur censure. That speaker expressed the opinion that Solidarity shook hands with the authorities on self-management issues, and they (that is, the Sejm) snapped off the fingers. The delegate quite frankly continued by saying that the Presidium of the National Consultative Commission had adopted a conciliatory decision concerning the act of self-management, in the belief that "WE MUST OFFER THE HAND, AND THEY WILL CERTAINLY TURN IT DOWN. WE WILL HAVE AN ARGUMENT WITH WHICH TO SHIFT THE BLAME...AS IT TURNED OUT, THE HAND STRETCHED OUT HAS BEEN DEPRIVED OF THE FINGERS." While lamenting the fact that the Sejm did not turn down a compromise, the speaker deplored the fact that Solidarity had thus been deprived of arguments for a confrontation and added that those performing such "conciliatory turns" for the union were Solidarity experts. Among such "turns" he listed the Warsaw and ...the Gdansk agreement. There were even opinions that what had been needed in the summer of 1980 was not to conclude any agreements, but to fight immediately. Thus the line of understanding has been challenged at the congress at its very beginning.

THAT IS THE POLITICAL CLIMATE OF THE CONGRESS, AND THE OPINIONS QUOTED DEFINE THE POSITIONS OF THE SPEAKERS ON THE POLISH STATE, ITS GOVERNMENT AND THE LINE OF UNDERSTANDING. THIS DOES NOT PREVENT THE ALLEGATION THAT THE AUTHORITIES FOUGHT SOLIDARITY, STRIVED FOR CONFRONTATION AND OVERLOOKED THE OLIVE BRANCH OFFERED TO THEM.

IS THERE ANY AUTHORITY OR ANYBODY IN THE WROLD WHO COULD TAKE SERIOUSLY ANY POSSIBLE APPEALS FOR COOPERATION AND STATEMENTS ON THE WILLINGNESS TO REACH AN UNDERSTANDING MADE BY A CONGRESS BREATHING HATERD FOR THEM? CAN THE STATE, WHICH WANTED TO BE SOLIDARITY'S PARTNER, CHERISH SUCH ILLUSIONS EVEN AFTER THE CONCLUSION OF THIS CONGRESS, WHICH BY EACH OF ITS PRONOUNCEMENTS DECLARES A WAR AGAINST THE GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNTRY AND AGAINST THE POLITICAL AND LEGAL CONDITIONS WHICH SOLIDARITY SOLEMNLY PROMISED IN COURT TO OBSERVE?

GOVERNMENT REPORT ON SOLIDARITY MEDIA ACCESS

LD070922 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 6 Oct 81

["Full text" of Government press office report on NSZZ Solidarity access to mass media]

[Text] In the period which has elapsed since the conclusion of the August agreements, NSZZ Solidarity incessantly places the issue of union access to the mass media on the agenda. An accusation is repeated systematically that the government allegedly did not meet this point of the agreement. Recently, before the opening of the second round of the NSZZ Solidarity congress, the chairman of the Council of Ministers and the government received, numerous resolutions similar in content, adopted at meetings and rallies which members of the NSZZ Solidarity had organized. They concerned free access to the mass media in order to, as put in a resolution adopted by Solidarity members at a meeting in the housing construction combine in Krakow, cut open the veil of secrecy which covers the constructive activity of our union for the sake of the good of the nation and the country in which we live.

The resolutions adopted by general meetings of the delegates of NSZZ Solidarity in production enterprises contain similar formulations. These resolutions contain an escalation of verbiage, accusations and demands addressed to the state authorities.

For example the open letter of the National Coordinating Commission of NSZZ Solidarity of Radio and Television contained a motion concerning the recall of the president of the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs, who has held this post for just a few weeks, as well as the threat that in the contrary case -- we quote -- "the general breakdown of the social agreements may occur, with all tis consequences."

In this statement, published by the Solidarity weekly, there are a number of false, one-sided statements which are all the more surprising because the signatories of the letter themselves appear as defenders of truth and credibility.

In connection with the campaign of passing resolutions, which is a blatant manifestation of the manipulating of public opinion, the government press office presented an extensive report in which we read:

The state authorities treat with all seriousness the third point of the Gdansk agreement, which envisaged access to the mass media, but did not define how great this would be, nor what form it would take. In particular, the number and circulation of union periodicals was not envisaged, nor was the creation of their own radio and television stations, a national daily newspaper and so forth.

Yet all this currently finds itself in the list of NSZZ Solidarity demands which invariably begin from statements about the fact that the union is just demanding access to the mass media, since it does not have this access. It was not envisaged that our country -- long and wide as it is -- would be flooded with thousands of newspapers, brochures, leaflets and union posters with contents which have nothing in common with the Gdansk agreements.

Solidarity access to the mass media is already considerable enough for its full statistical portrayal to be impossible. The national weekly, SOLIDARNOSC, has a circulation of half a million copies. The circulation of the three congress issues amount to a million each. In other words, more than any [word indistinct] political periodical in Poland.

The weekly JEDNOSC has a circulation of 100,000 copies; KWADRAT with 45,000; SOLIDARNOSC JASTRZEBIE with 50,000 copies; ODRODZENIE with 100,000 copies; SAMORZADNOSC with 250,000 copies; SOLIDARNOSC NIEZALEZNE SLOWO with 10,000 copies; SOLIDARNOSC ZIEMI PLOCKIEJ with 10,000 copies; and SIERPIEN with 80,000 copies. Altogether the number of copies of periodicals and information bulletins, which the Chief Office of the Press, Publication and Public Performances has permitted, significantly excedes 1 million copies.

At present NSZZ Solidarity has nine periodicals. Apart from this, hundreds of thousands of the so-called work enterprise bulletins are published in a number of copies sometimes greatly exceding the number of workers at an enterprise. For instance WOLNY ZWIAZKOWIEC, a Solidarity periodical of the Katowice steel factory which is well-known because of its publication of anti-Soviet caricatures, has a circulation of 50,000 copies. In 45 periodicals -- weeklies, bimonthly publications and 10-day publications at factories -- there are permanent columns or sections for Solidarity. The total number of copies of such periodicals is over 230,000. Solidarity also has permanent columns in two dailies: DZIENNIK BALTYCKI, with a circulation of 90,000 copies, and KURIER LUBELSKI, with a circulation of 88,000 copies. These are independent columns which Solidarity edits itself.

In these periodicals, to quote Lech Walesa, the union speaks with its own language about its own affairs. Apart from these, Solidarity uses state Telexes to send its communiques, appeals, resolutions and so on. Solidarity also used a closed circuit radio in many factories. Apart from its own programs it broadcasts recordings [words indistinct].

A separate issue is access to radio and television. The government never pledged that it would create an independent editorial office of Solidarity which would constitute television within television, like a state within a state. Such a pledge would constitute an agreement to partition television. The leadership of the Radio Committee made numerous compromise proposals which were rejected by Solidarity.

The good will in the performance of radio and television duties can be proven by the following facts: Before the Solidarity congress a 30-minute information program was broadcast with the participation of the leading activists of the union, as was a 90-minute press conference of the leadership of Solidarity and short 5-minute commentaries by respresentatives of the National Consultative Commission [KKP]. During the 5-10 Sep congress, the main editorial office of television news bulletins prepared and presented seven information blocks with a total air time of 4-hours. Reports from the first round of the congress were also published in all television news bulletins totaling 17 editions. The air time of the congress items broadcast in news bulletins amounted to 60-minutes, of which 20-minutes was comprised of film taken by television reporters, the television center in Gdansk and foreign television stations belonging to Eurovision.

The verbal reportage lasted for 11-hours. Extensive reports from the conference hall and talks with congress delegates were also broadcast. During these (?11-hours) extensive excerpts -- 15-minutes -- of the homily by the primate delivered at the congress were presented, as well as the full speeches by Lech Walesa opening and closing the first round of the congress, the full speech by KKP Secretary Andrzej Celinski, who discussed the report-back report -- 30-minutes -- a talk with the spokesman of the Gdansk region, speeches in the debates, among them Lech Walesa, [name indistinct], report from the press conference given by Janusz Onyszkiewicz on the third day of the congress, and full texts of the resolutions adopted by the congress which were read out in the hall.

The memorable message to the working people of Eastern Europe was read out in full during a news bulletin on the first program.

Interviews with delegates of the Gdansk region on the subject of resolutions and the congress program, interviews with delegates of the Rzeszow region, talks with Stefan Bratkowski and Bronislaw Geremek on the fourth day of the congress and many others (?were broadcast). From February to August, Polish Radio broadcast 171 programs in which NSZZ Solidarity representatives participated and spoke on behalf of the union. During the same period, television carried 179 similar programs. In addition, the radio broadcast 525 programs linked with Solidarity's current activity, while television carried 355 programs.

Despite the fact that there is no television coverage of the Solidarity congress -- not because of the Radio Committee, as was preemptorily stated by Solidarity -- all efforts have been made to let the viewers know what is going on in the congress hall. In sum, a casual observer will admit that Solidarity even now has wide access to the mass media, access which is greater than any other social organization in Poland and which is proportionately greater than any trade union in the world.

Also, looking objectively, one must admit that during the last year a lot has been done to restore the credible and representative character of radio and television. This is a great achievement of the socialist renewal, from which there is no turning back as is frequently stressed by Premier Jaruzelski. The government does not think that everything has been done in this sphere. In particular, it is urgent to restore the previous circulation size of the Prasa-Ksiazka-Ruch Workers' Publishing Cooperative periodicals which were limited in order to allow Solidarity access to its own press, as well as approving claims for the need to publish by various organizations which, unlike Solidarity, are still waiting for their own mass media. Other trade unions are also waiting.

The pitch of antisocialist, anti-Soviet and antistate propaganda in many Solidarity publications is constantly increasing. Beginning with the Solidarity weekly down to the regional organs of the union, its publications are characterized by the total, univocal criticism of steps the authorities have made in all areas. There is, however, a lack of any approval and willingness to cooperate. The use of union printing plants for printing anticommunist and anti-Soviet books has become a common occurence, thus causing indignation of sober-minded people both at home and abroad.

This fact reached such proportions that it had to become the subject of the prosecutor's activity. Unfortunately, all efforts to treat such publications in accordance with the law met with Solidarity's automatic opposition. The approval by the authorities and the community for wider access of Solidarity to mass media plus the content of broadcast publications and programs concerning the union, depend to a great extent on Solidarity's purposes for this access.

Often under a slogan of freedom of speech and under a pretext of intraunion publications, an activity harmful to the country, and thus also harmful to Solidarity, is practiced. Does the union really speak in those publications with its own words and about its own affairs? It is worth recalling that although in the first few months following the registration of the union the government side pointed out the harmfulness of many of these publications and the Solidarity activists promised to cool off the irresponsible editors as soon as the SOLIDARNOSC weekly appeared, now, when the weekly has a circulation of 500,000 copies -- and one cannot speak about the lack of the trade union voice -- such words still remain empty. Nobody wishes to accept responsibility for many Solidarity publications hostile and slanderous to the political system and to allies which are widely disseminated in our country and abroad.

MEETING OF INDUSTRIAL TU'S COMMISSION REPORTED

LD062136 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2100 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] A session of the Industrial Branch Trade Unions Consultative Commission has been held in Warsaw. It discussed organizational matters in connection with the coming general meeting of Industrial Branch Trade Unions. A team of eight people was elected to work on suggestions and comments submitted by union members for inclusion in the draft of the new statute.

The commission adopted a statement which says, among other things, that the increased price of cigarettes was not discussed with the Industrial Branch Trade Unions. It is deemed to be essential to immediately begin talks with the government on the current price policy, and on compensation for increased living costs incurred during the past year.

MILITIA COMMANDER ON ATTEMPT TO FOUND MILITIA TU

LD070938 Warsaw PAP in English 0841 GMT 7 Oct 81

[From the press review]

[Text] Warsaw, 7 Oct (PAP) -- ZYCIE WARSZAWY carries an interview with Commander-in-Chief of the militia forces General Stanislaw Zaczkowski. Speaking about the attempt to found a militia union, he said that "we see no opportunity for classical trade union activity in such a paramilitary institution as the Civic Militia. This has to do with a system of orders, discipline and constant readiness to serve tasks. Most police and militia forces worldwide have no union, as that would simply hinder their work."

"We have spoken many times to initiators of this idea telling them about this and other reasons. Most of them understood the rationale of the ministry heads and gave up. However, we have not managed to convince a part of the militiamen, mostly young people who have been working in the militia for one or two years. As a result, 96 and not, as rumour has it, 500 militiamen were dismissed. I will also add that there are employee commissions in the militia and militia councils have recently been set up. They provide full protection of militiamen's interests."

JUDICIAL EMPLOYEES UNION PUBLISHES STATEMENT

LD062240 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] PAP published a communique by a session, which ended today, of the Supreme Council of trade union employees of the Prosecutors' Office of the Polish People's Republic.

During the 2-day debates, among others a draft amendment of the penal law was discussed, as was the present sociopolitical situation in the country and the actions undertaken by the Prosecutor's Office.

The council -- with considerable concern -- noted the intensification of attacks against the organs of the Prosecutor's Office and against the prosecutors. The proposal to include the Prosecutor's Office within the organizational structure of the Ministry of Justice, and to restrict its role in penal proceedings, was assessed with disapproval.

The union, which associates over 90 percent of the Prosecutor's Office employees, adopted the stance that only the subordination of the Prosecutor's Office to the Sejm, and the appointment of the prosecutor general of People's Poland by the supreme organ of power, as well as the nomination of the prosecutors by the Counci of State, create fuller political guarantees for fulfilling its constitutional function of guardian of law and order.

NSZZ SOLIDARITY KKP ANNUAL REPORT PUBLISHED

PM291007 Warsaw SOLIDARNOSC Special Supplement in Polish 11 Sep 81 pp 1-8

["NSZZ Solidarity National Consultative Commission Report"]

[Text] NSZZ Solidarity has been in existence for 1 year in fact and 10 months legally. In submitting a report for this period the National Consultative Commission [KKP] fully realizes that this short period of the trade union's existence has been of decisive importance for the formation and future of the independent trade union movement as well as for the future of our country. This is why our report relates not only to the work of the KKP itself but also to Solidarity's activities in that period.

The first congress concludes the founding period of our trade union's existence -- democratically elected trade union executives already exist at all regional levels. During the current congress we will elect national trade union authorities, thus closing the election campaign within a 10-month period, as stipulated in the statute, despite the fact that there have been considerable delays in the regional general meetings of delegates. The situation has not been conducive to normal work within the organization. After all, we have continually been drawn into conflict situations and have gone from one conflict to another almost without respite; and not only the interests of the working people and the trade union but even the very existence of Solidarity and the future of the country have been in extreme jeopardy. At present we are able to submit to the congress neither a full assessment of last year's events nor a detailed report on the creation of the trade union's enterprise and regional organizations. The general meetings of delegates which have been held in all regions of the country in recent months have already provided an opportunity for an initial assessment of Solidarity's founding and organizational work as well as for an evaluation of the general situation in the country. We are convinced that while seeking to outline a program for our organization's activities, the first congress will also assess our progress so far and consider the experiences of the past months. We are fully aware of the fact that we have only just embarked on the path which we have chosen and that everything is still in front of us. Compared with our desires and hopes, the concrete results of our activities may seem modest and inadequate. But we nonetheless feel sure that as a result of the birth and existence of Solidarity, which was created as a result of a struggle for workers' rights and which enjoys great confidence among the community, our country's public and political life has changed and is still changing. We will not exaggerate if we state that a revolution, whose main strength lies in Solidarity, is taking place in Poland. Weighed down with the burden of an economic catastrophe which has been a consequence of the policy pursued by the authorities before August and a result of a lack of a consistent policy of renewal and reform on the part of the authorities in power since August 1980, we are sometimes unable to fully realize that post-August Poland is becoming a different country.

Prior to August a disillusioned and discouraged society long submitted -- mostly passively -- to a political and economic system thrust upon it. However, in recent years, resistance against an ineffective economic policy, mendacious propaganda and trampling on human dignity gradually increased and the possibility of an uncontrolled outburst of anger whose consequences might have been incalculable arose. The people in power were afraid of both the public and the reforms, that is, any changes which might have curtailed their power. Fortunately, there were forces among the nation which were capable of assuming the task of renewal. Solidarity was born as a result of these forces' activities. The tradition of an independent workers' and trade union movement had never withered and the memory of and experience gained during workers' protests in Poznan, on the coast, in Radom and at Ursus were still fresh. Awareness and a will to fight for workers' and civil rights, as well as solidarity, restraint and discipline, which were features of large-scale strike actions during the past year, were products of these experiences. It is from these experiences that the free trade union movement was born. Worker traditions were enlivened and supported by the intelligentsia and youth movements which developed as a protest against totalitarianism and repression in the name of human solidarity, dignity and national and religious values.

Independent sociopolitical movements, which were created to defend the workers' and human and civil rights (Workers' Defense Committee [KOR] and the Movement for the Defense of Human and Civil Rights [ROPCIO]), academic circles (Society for Academic Studies [TKN] and Experience and Future [DIP]), Catholic intelligentsia and ministry club circles and youth circles (Students' Solidarity Committee [SKS] and RMP [Young Poland Movement]) greatly helped the cause of the country's renewal. The church played an extremely important role. As a custodian of national traditions, it sought to spiritually and morally strengthen a nation deprived of its right to self-determination and acted for many years as the only public champion of the working people and exponent of social needs. It has acted as the champion of human dignity and civil liberties and sought to protect independent social movements. The great figure of the Polish primate, Cardinal Stefan Wyszynski, became a symbol of national dignity as well as of the church's political wisdom. The election of a Polish pope and his pilgrimage across the country crowned the church's glorious work and greatly contributed toward national awakening.

I. August 1980

In July and August 1980 the workers' protest was aimed against irregularities and lies, against arbitrary decisions and orders on the part of the authorities and against an increasingly obvious deterioration in the country's economic situation and the material situation of the working people. After Lublin's action in July, the memorable strike action taken by the coast workers and supported by Silesia and the Basin, as well as the entire country, took place. In a general strike atmosphere the authorities yielded to the workers' demands. Agreements were signed in Szczecin, Gdansk, Jastrzebie, Katowice and other centers of strike conflicts. These events cannot be assessed merely in terms of the direct causes and effects of the strike struggle, price increases or wage and material demands. For the workers' movement in August was a powerful liberation movement whose aim concerned human and civil rights, human dignity, the community's and nation's superior rights and the fundamental desires of the working people. It was a continuation of the workers' struggles of 1956, 1970 and 1976, a continuation of combined activities in the defense of human rights and a continuation of movements in support of the republic's defense and renewal.

However, what is most important is that the Polish August has not only changed our country's social landscape and the existing balance of forces but has also initiated a profound spiritual transformation of the Polish people.

As a great and real force, Solidarity has created an opportunity for a social balance in which people will be protected and the authorities effectively controlled. However, the fact that the great August victory has transformed the nation's spiritual and moral stance is of no lesser importance. It has aroused a great movement of hope. People have come to believe that the situation can improve, that there is some point in joint work and struggle, as well as in democracy and self-management, that there is some point in genuine social commitment. This belief has enabled people to bear sacrifices and face up to difficulties. And this potential of human strength and energy represents the greatest force. It is a guarantee that agreements can be observed. We must not squander this potential.

Social agreements were based on the constitutional principle of people's power but, in their fundamental provisions, they went beyond the existing legal system. The ratification of the agreements by the Sejm of the Polish People's Republic represents a guarantee of the implementation of their provisions through a promise that new laws, which will create an institutional basis for the post-August order, are to be adopted. First of all, the need has arisen to adopt a new trade union law which will guarantee the right to trade union freedom and the right to strike, rights enshrined in the Gdansk agreement, and ensure for the trade unions complete freedom of action in the defense of workers' interests. The commitment to implement an economic reform foreshadowed some new laws relating to enterprises, workers' self-management and central management. The implementation of the third and fourth stipulations of the Gdansk agreement required another law on limiting censorship as well as some fundamental changes in the organization and functioning of the legal system and the Public Prosecutor's Office -- law-abidingness requires new laws.

II. From September 1980 Through September 1981

1. Conflicts and Agreements

So far Solidarity's whole history has consisted of a series of conflicts, all of which have run a similar course -- a concrete problem either erupts violently or emerges gradually; lack of response or an inappropriate response on the part of the authorities leads to a strike, occupation of a building or some other form of protest; negotiations then begin which are held in a very tense atmosphere and are concluded, after many hours of continuous talks, with the signing of some kind of agreement. However, past history can be divided into several periods, each of them of a clearly different nature:

A) From September 1980 Through December 1980

In September 1980, new trade union founding committees sprang up throughout Poland. Regional authorities tried to hinder this process by refusing to provide premises and persecuting the organizers of these committees. They either alleged that only those who went on strike had the right to create independent self-governing trade unions or maintained that only the coast was involved in this process.

This led to many strikes throughout the country, including in Kielce, Mielec and Olsztyn. As a result of a strike at the Katowice steelworks an agreement merely containing a guarantee that the Gdansk agreement would be implemented was signed.

This state of affairs and fear on the part of weaker and smaller centers that their demand for registration would be rejected became the basis for the main argument put forward at the 17 September Gdansk meeting in support of the idea to create Solidarity and present one joint demand for registration. A collective leadership -- the KKP and its chairman -- were also appointed.

Harassment, delays in the implementation of decisions concerning pay increases and lack of access to the mass media resulted in a decision to call the first warning national strike on 3 October.

On 24 October the Voivodship Court registered Solidarity but arbitrarily introduced some changes into its statute. This inflamed the situation. Trade union members became very indignant. Strike readiness for 12 November was proclaimed. An appeal was lodged with the Supreme Court. Talks with the government took place.

On 9 November a decision was adopted at a KKP meeting in Warsaw to attach to the statute annexes containing legal principles of trade union activities. The next day the Supreme Court removed the amendments introduced by the Voivodship Court.

The situation calmed down everywhere with the exception of Czestochowa, where a bitter conflict erupted as a result of the proclamation of a state of emergency by the regional authorities. A few days later the city and voivodship authorities gave way.

On 29 November another conflict erupted. The Mazowsze region's premises were searched. A copy of a document sent by Public Prosecutor General Lucjan Czubinski to his subordinates, containing directives on the subject of the harassment of the democratic opposition, which was being duplicated at those premises, was impounded. The next day Jan Narozniak, a printer working for Mazowsze, was arrested. This led to strikes and protests in the region. Tension in Warsaw suddenly increased. During the night of 26 November Narozniak and Sapela (who had also been arrested) were released on surety provided by Stefan Bratkowski, chairman of the Association of Polish Journalists [SDP].

Rather in the shadow of these conflicts the following events were taking place: hunger strikes by railroad workers in Wroclaw, refusal to register the farmers' trade union, occupation of the Gdansk Voivodship office building by health service, education and cultural workers and protest by sugar mill workers at Pruszcz Gdanski. All these conflicts were preceded by talks with the authorities which were long, laborious and, in most cases, unsuccessful until protests took place. Talks with miners, textile workers and many others also took place.

Many of these problems arose as a result of an originally unpublished resolution -- No 81/80 -- adopted by the Council of Ministers at the beginning of September but whose content was not disclosed until 1 month later. It had not been coordinated with Solidarity, preserved the past disproportions in wages among the branches and was, in fact, tantamount to a violation of the Gdansk agreement. The state authorities sought to implement wage increases behind Solidarity's back. Contrary to their expectations, the total amount of money earmarked for wage increases was exceeded. Wage disputes took the form of hundreds of small-scale conflicts and strikes. A tense situation was improved as a result of a KKP appeal on 26 November calling for a postponement of wage increases and strikes. The KKP took the view that matters concerning collective agreements should be put straight and that the trade union should determine a plan for its material demands in accordance with principles of justice and the real state of the national economy.

The first of several most tense periods after August 1980 ended to the accompaniment of some panic-stricken reports in the Western press on the threat of intervention.

In mid-December monuments commemorating the victims of the December 1970 events were unveiled in Gdansk, Gdynia and Szczecin.

B) From January 1981 Through February 1981

Another wave of conflicts -- a result of the authorities' arbitrary policy and of the nonimplementation of the agreements -- broke out. Widespread dissatisfaction among the peasants became obvious. The main conflict concerned the principle of work-free Saturdays, which was conceded by the Jastrzebie agreement and confirmed by government statements in the Sejm.

The talks with the government about work-free Saturdays, which took place toward the end of December, led to no agreement, and the government decided to resolve the problem unilaterally. This led to protests by Solidarity, which demanded that two Saturdays in January -- 10 and 24 January -- be declared work-free whereas the government decided that they should be treated as working days. On 8 January the KKP decided that all Saturdays in 1981 should be work-free. A directive issued by the labor and wages minister on payments for work performed on contentious Saturdays led to more protests and strikes.

Just as at the time of conflicts in the fall, propaganda in the mass media against Solidarity intensified and inflamed the situation. Talks with the government continued, but the government rejected a compromise solution suggested by Solidarity. Large-scale warning strikes also continued. Only the threat of a national warning strike to be called on 3 February persuaded the government to accept a compromise solution and, in the early hours of 31 January, an agreement was reached on the subject of work-free Saturdays and the publication of information on Solidarity via radio and television.

At the same time, that is, in January, local conflicts arose -- the inhabitants of some localities demanded that corrupt representatives of the authorities be removed and many other matters concerning their respective regions be dealt with. The peasants demanded that their trade union be registered.

Similar action was started earlier, that is, toward the end of December, in the Beskids region with the occupation of the administration building at Ustrzyki Dolne. In addition to the problem of the registration of the farmers' trade union and claims with respect to Council of Ministers office rest centers, it was a question of restoring former names to localities which had been changed a few years earlier. A few days later, Rzeszow joined in -- people who had occupied the building belonging to the former voivodship Council of Trade Unions first advanced claims to those unions' assets and a little later put forward Rural Solidarity's demands.

Some bitter conflicts arose in Nowy Sacz on 29 January, Jelenia Gora on 20 January and, later, Olsztyn and Bielsko Biala. The issue involved was the removal of corrupt activists and people who had harrassed regional Solidarity organizations.

On 27 and 30 January respectively, conflicts in Bielsko and Jelenia Gora developed into mass strikes throughout those regions. Just as in Radom, where a conflict was to erupt a little later, in all those localities some symptoms of growing tension had gradually appeared over a period of several months. It was from those localities that many letters and petitions to the authorities asking for intervention and a reply were sent in the fall of 1980.

These unresolved problems led to mass strikes. In Ustrzyki Dolne and Nowy Sacz the authorities decided -- for the first time -- to use force against people occupying buildings within the framework of protest action. In early February, that is, after an agreement was reached with respect to the question of work-free Saturdays, talks with representatives of the authorities began in all these localities.

The situation became especially inflammable after Premier Pinekowski ostentatiously rejected the resignations tendered by the officials in Bielsko Biala whose removal the strikers demanded. Talks were broken off there (and also in Rzeszow and Jelenia Gora). Yet another crisis arose. With the episcopate's help, agreement was finally reached in Bielsko Biala on 6 February -- the corrupt officials involved were removed. On 10 February agreement was reached in Jelenia Gora (the final talks were held in Warsaw).

Apart from some personnel problems, these conflicts had a common feature with many later conflicts -- demands were made that public buildings, many of which were used by the party and the militia, be handed over to the health service.

On 16 February fresh talks were started in Rzeszow (this time with KKP representatives' participation). In the early hours of 20 February agreement was reached at Ustrzyki after 50 days of talks. Protest action in Rzeszow also ended after an agreement was reached 2 days earlier. It proved impossible to resolve either the problems of Rural Solidarity's registration or that of Nowy Sacz, but the government made an important statement at that time on the permanence of the structure of the Polish countryside based on individual land ownership.

A strike by Lodz students in February and March was also an important event. After a long time and following some more strikes started in support at the universities of other cities, it ended with an agreement and the registration of the Independent Association of Students.

The new premier, General Jaruzelski, appealed for broader cooperation and 90 days of peace. This met with a positive response both among the public and on the part of Solidarity, which was prepared to give the government more time despite its negative experiences in December. The government's authority clearly increased. Yet another peaceful period followed and talks began with respect to a number of specific questions such as disability and retirement pensions, working hours, regulations concerning the allocation of beds at sanatoriums and educational reform.

At the same time, however, tension increased in Radom in connection with the question of responsibility for repressive measures taken in June 1976. This matter was to remain unresolved for months. On 24 April, following strike action, talks were started between a government commission and the Radom region Interfactory Workers' Committee. So far they have yielded no final results.

C) The Bydgoszcz Affair

The events which occurred in Bydgoszcz on 19 March during an interrupted session of the Bydgoszcz Voivodship People's Council [WRN] -- when three people were beaten up -- shook all Poland. A threat of total confrontation arose and was averted only with difficulty. At the same time some serious inner crises occurred in both the party and Solidarity.

It all began with an initiative by the Bydgoszcz Solidarity organization, which had always been very interested in matters concerning agriculture and suggested that a WRN meeting be held with the participation of the trade union's representatives. After some discussion, the WRN Presidium accepted this proposal. On 16 March the premises of the ZSL were occupied. Solidarity supported this action.

On 19 March the generally known beating, which it would be difficult not to see as the most serious provocation against the trade union throughout its short history, occurred.

Solidarity reacted to this action in a firm but rather impetuous manner. Following some serious disagreements, the KKP proclaimed a warning strike for 27 March and a general strike for 31 March without determining its duration. A national strike committee was set up and some of its members began talks in Warsaw.

On 30 March the Warsaw agreement was initialed and the strike postponed under dramatic circumstances. Following serious disputes in connection with both the extent of concessions made by the delegation and its powers with respect to the decisions adopted, the KKP confirmed the agreement. It was received throughout the country with relief.

Contrary to fears entertained at that time, the signing of the agreement quite soon resulted in the registration of the Solidarity of Private Farmers, since this was the name under which the peasants' trade union wanted to be known. However, this was accompanied by some other events -- the occupation strike of the ZSL premises in Bydgoszcz continued throughout, an occupation strike and a hunger strike began in Inowroclaw in mid-April, talks between representatives of the farmers were started, and, finally, the peasants' trade union published its ideological manifesto.

On 17 April an agreement was signed in Bydgoszcz between a government commission and a group of peasants engaged in strike action, whose trade union was registered on 12 May.

However, despite the government's commitments clearly stated in the Warsaw agreement, the Bydgoszcz affair was not brought to a satisfactory conclusion. The investigation failed to lead to the exposure and punishment of the people responsible for the assault. Since then several deadlines set for the conclusion of the affair (10 June and beginning of July) have already expired. Nor have steps taken by Deputy Szczepanski's commission yielded any results.

At the beginning of June, that is, after the deadline agreed upon in the agreement had expired and in view of the lack of any obvious steps on the part of the administration of justice in this sphere, the Bydgoszcz affair again became the object of very obvious discontent among the population in general and Solidarity members in Bydgoszcz in particular.

D) Interval for Elections -- From April 1981 Through July 1981

The Bydgoszcz shock and the settlement of the question of Private Farmers' Solidarity were followed by a long period of quasi-peace.

Local conflicts with the militia and the Ministry of Internal Affairs were the only incidents which occurred during that period, throughout which intensive negotiations on which much hope was pinned were held. Elections to the leadership and meeting of delegates took place in both the party and Solidarity.

A number of conflicts with the Ministry of Internal Affairs occurred during that period even though they began much earlier with demands that some militia stations be handed over to the health service. Since February a dispute had been dragging on in Lodz in connection with the defense of some Solidarity founder members who had been dismissed from the Ministry of Internal Affairs hospital. It was part of a bigger dispute concerning the question of whether Solidarity would be allowed to engage in activities among the civilian employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of National Defense, a question which so far has not been satisfactorily resolved.

Since the Bydgoszcz events a long succession of incidents involving the population and the militia has occurred. The Otwock incident is the most generally known (on 7 May, a crowd incensed by the militia's behavior threatened to burn down the militia station). Any attempt at making mob rule prevail must be condemned in the strongest possible terms but, at the same time, the trade union must continually demand that law be observed by members of the Citizens' Militia, and it must be added that during that period many incidents occurred which formed a basis for some serious criticisms directed at the militia.

They relate to cases when some Warsaw streetcar workers were beaten up by the militia, the death of Jan Siminiak at a militia station in Katowice, an incident at Katowice railroad station on 15 May, a bodily assault at Kuznica Bialostocka and so forth.

At the same time, public opinion was shocked by prison riots and strikes and hunger strikes by prisoners.

In a few cases Solidarity representatives were allowed to participate in talks concerning these matters. In some other cases, we were unable to attend such talks despite the prisoners' pleas.

Intensive talks were held throughout that period even though matters at issue were left for later discussions. Solidarity made great efforts to hold delayed regional meetings as soon as possible.

E) Summer 1981

In June a monument in commemoration of the victims of the 1956 events was unveiled in Poznan and a cornerstone for a monument in commemoration of the 1976 events was laid in Radom.

More economic protests began to take place a year after the summer of 1980 -- this time they took the form of hunger strikes. Protests began even before the PZPR Congress with disputes about a docker's card -- a matter which dragged on for months -- and the appointment of the LOT [Polish Airlines] director. The latter incident was in Solidarity's view an example of a quite new type of conflict -- a dispute relating to the workforce's right to choose its own director.

The long-lasting discontent caused by inadequate supplies of goods and the need to wait in line increased suddenly following the domestic trade minister's unilateral decision to reduce meat allocations. To begin with some protest statements were delivered. Later tempers flared up to such an extent that there was a risk of wildcat actions. In view of this Solidarity decided to organize and carry out some actions.

Demonstrations began in Kutno, Lodz and Piotrkow. On 25 July the first hunger march ever organized in the country took place in Kutno, and on 27 July a cavalcade of cars covered with posters drove through the streets of Lodz. During the following days some similar cavalcades took place. On 30 July a protest march by women took place in the streets of Lodz and ended with a meeting. Similar incidents occurred in Szczecin, Wloclawek, Belchatow, Tomaszow, Bialystok, Kalisz, Krakow and many other cities.

From 3 through 5 August the city center in Warsaw was blocked by a column of buses. Its progress was stopped by the militia to prevent its reaching the Central Committee building. The blockade's conclusion was accompanied by a 2-hour warning strike.

At the same time talks were in progress in Warsaw between Solidarity and the government. On 7 August in the Slask Dabrowski region a 4-hour warning strike took place in support of demands put forward by the KKP and in connection with the supply situation in the region. The trade union delegation's refusal to sign a final communique was described by the government as a breaking-off of the talks. A fresh, extremely demagogic campaign by the mass media against Solidarity began. In view of a lack of access to the mass media and inability to counter this campaign, the KKP decided to organize press-free days on 19-20 August when printers were to refuse to produce daily newspapers. This decision was implemented in principle, except in Katowice and Bydgoszcz. The authorities printed a small number of copies in military printing houses.

Despite this action and the propaganda campaign waged against Solidarity, the trade union's leadership remained calm and did not respond to provocations. This was made obvious by the fact that the organizers of a star march (in support of people imprisoned for their opinions) were requested to postpone their action.

On 12 August the KKP published an appeal to trade unionists and the public asking the workforce to work on eight work-free Saturdays for the good of the country but in a way which would ensure that the results of this production would be utilized under the work-forces' strict control and, especially, under that of worker self-management which was being created. The appeal led to widespread discussions in trade union circles but it also met with understanding and support as a step in support of the community's self-defense and self-organization.

It should be emphasized that throughout that difficult period -- when the trade union was being created and many bitter social conflicts took place -- Solidarity enjoyed the church's comprehensive support. Both the late primate of Poland, Cardinal Wyszynski, and the new primate, Archbishop Jozef Glemp, as well as the episcopate as a whole and individual bishops and priests actively supported us on many occasions and enabled us to profit from their experience. On a number of occasions the church's representatives assumed the difficult task of mediators in conflicts and negotiations. The episcopate also firmly supported Rural Solidarity.

Right from the beginning, that is, September 1980, creative and scientific associations stated their desire to cooperate with and support our trade union and they set up their own Consultative Commission. On many occasions (with respect to work concerning a law on curtailing censorship, for instance) the trade union closely cooperated with the above mentioned Consultative Commission.

Solidarity itself gave very large-scale support to the farmers' trade unions which were being created at that time and which, after many months of efforts and struggles, united and were registered as Private Farmers' NSZZ Solidarity. It can be stated with assurance that without our trade union's show of solidarity -- especially in Bydgoszcz and Rzeszow -- and without the Warsaw agreement, which was achieved with so much difficulty, it would have been impossible to resolve the problem of the private farmers' trade union positively and peacefully.

Our trade union will rely on Solidarity cooperation with other independent and self-governing social movements in Poland also in the future.

2. The Trade Union and the Socioeconomic Situation

Prior to August, that is, before our trade union was created, the economic crisis was about to reach its climax. The economic sector's debts had reached staggering proportions. Production had fallen. Energy shortages were being felt more frequently. Cooperation was breaking down and the supply situation with respect to industry and the market was deteriorating. The consequences of a whole series of mistaken decisions in the economic sector were becoming increasingly more glaring. The economic system in force discouraged people and enterprises from engaging in sound and effective work. National income had been falling for 2 years. It was becoming increasingly obvious that the national economy was in a very bad state. There was no lack of either warnings with respect to the great dangers ahead of proposals aimed at a large-scale socioeconomic reform.

However, the then authorities had no intention of initiating any reforms. It was decided to save the situation by making the public in general and the working class in particular pay. Strikes became our response.

Right from the beginning Solidarity engaged in a struggle against the threat of shifting the costs of the crisis onto the community's shoulders. However, we were only partly successful. Adjustments of wages were implemented (in accordance with point eight of the Gdansk agreement). We waged a forceful campaign in their support. We were aware of the country's situation and the aim of our fight was to ensure fair increases, not big ones. As a result of the authorities' opposition, this aim was not completely achieved.

In addition to the question of wage adjustment, we can include among our achievements some changes in the social insurance system. The first stage of an adjustment of family benefits was implemented and a plan for the introduction of educational grants was initiated.

Retirement pensions were immediately increased to Z3,000 and, simultaneously, some intensive and already far advanced work aimed at doing away with the so-called old system has been in progress. As a result of our trade union's efforts, steps have also been taken to ensure social benefits for the unemployed. Work has been in progress with a view to determining a social minimum which would serve as a basis for minimum wages and social benefits. In addition, some branch agreements have been implemented.

We have managed to reach agreement with respect to work-free Saturdays. In the great majority of enterprises this has had no negative economic consequences. Only in some sectors of the economy has a shortage of labor, which affected production, become more marked as a result. This has been most obvious in the mining industry.

Increased leisure time represents a hard-won historic victory by the working people in Poland. We will seek to consistently implement this principle. The trade union should pay more attention to the question of the proper use of leisure time through the development of cultural life and some other forms of leisure activities. At the same time it should be considered in what way more flexible control over working time could be ensured.

Despite the successes which our trade union has achieved, we have been unable to protect the workers from a fall in their standard of living. The combined consequences of the crisis have made themselves felt quite strongly during the year which has elapsed since the creation of our trade union. This has resulted, above all, in a big fall in production unprecedented in the history of postwar Europe. However, this fall in production could have been much smaller if the authorities had taken energetic steps to deal with the economic crisis. This has not happened. The crisis is deepening and threatens us with an economic catastrophe. The community's living conditions have already become dramatic. The question of food supplies is the most difficult. The housing situation is also bad. Transportation has been deteriorating. Even though most of the officially fixed prices have not changed, inflation has become a fact. The materially weakest sections of the population have been most affected by all this. The trade union must immediately take steps to protect the material situation of the poorest sections of the population. A concrete settlement of the issue of allowances for the higher cost of living is of special importance in this situation.

So far Solidarity has engaged in no direct economic activities. Nor have we decided to present our own plans for extricating the country from the crisis and for a reform. Contrary to accusations leveled at us, we want, above all, to be a trade union. We have had no means for action at our disposal. We have been unable to share any responsibility since we have had no say in decisionmaking. We relied on the government to take action. However, the government has been ineffective and the economic situation is now much worse than it was a year ago. It is catastrophic.

But while remembering that we are a trade union and not overlooking the risk connected with any direct involvement by the trade union in economic activities, we must determine during the congress a strategy for active involvement in the economic sector. We are willing to participate in the preparation and implementation of a genuine program for saving the economy, but we also must abide by a principle which has governed us in recent months, namely that no steps must be taken which would either result in the deterioration of the material situation of the poorest sections of the population or lead to mass unemployment.

We also must take some more forceful steps with respect to the problem of economic reform. We deserve credit for the fact that public attention has now focused on the problem of reform and that the government has been forced to take some initial steps in that sphere. However, there were and still are some influential groups within the leadership opposed to any reform. These groups have sought to either delay the implementation of a reform or curtail its program. The authorities' attitude toward the question of workers' self-management has been a clear indication of this.

Solidarity must determine during the congress the ways and means to be used to forcefully support an economic reform. It has become apparent during the past year that unless the trade union engages in activities of this kind it will be hard to expect a rapid implementation of a reform.

3. Access to the Mass Media

It was stated in the Gdansk agreement that the new trade union would be granted the right to have its own publications. We had to wait for 7 long months before we were allowed to publish our own national trade union weekly, SOLIDARNOSC, whose circulation, which amounts to 500,000 copies (and which has, anyway, continually been in jeopardy because of a shortage of paper), does not fulfill our needs. The creation of our trade union's own organ has been an event not only in the sphere of our internal work but also in the social life of the country. After all, any extension of the sphere of truth in the dissemination of information is bound to hinder the dissemination of lies.

Some other trade union periodicals have been published in the usual way -- this means, among other things, under the control of the censor -- in Szczecin, Jastrzebie and Jelenia Gora. The authorities have announced that they will agree to the publication of trade union weeklies in a few more cities.

So far the undertaking relating to the creation of the trade union's own publishing house, which was included in the Gdansk agreement, has not been implemented. However, right from the beginning all our regional organizations engaged in publishing activities in accordance with their means and, later, their work has been made easier by the fact that we have obtained some printing equipment from some friendly trade unions. Our aim was to create an intratrade union information system and enable the dissemination of views within the framework of the trade union.

Hundreds of regional, branch, community and enterprise trade union bulletins are being published and distributed. Ways to ensure cooperation with respect to the exchange of information and commentaries on public affairs have been discussed at meetings of representatives of the trade union press. With this end in mind, a trade union press information agency -- the AS -- has, furthermore, been created and attached to Mazowsze region. It has regularly published bulletins. In many regions work has been in progress with a view to creating an effective system of information exchange between regional executives and enterprise committees.

However, the whole problem has exceeded the framework of the trade union's internal affairs and has generally concerned its existence and role in the country's social life.

The question of Solidarity's access to the mass media has been discussed during all its talks with the government since the fall of 1980. Negotiations concerning this problem have been most difficult throughout and the agreements achieved in this sphere have not been implemented. We have achieved some agreements with respect to the allocation of paper for trade union publications, but our fundamental demands have remained unanswered. What is mainly at issue is the question of access to radio and television.

The monopoly of information and expression of opinion which still prevails on radio and television severely violates the rights of the community. Our trade union has demanded that public control be ensured over radio and television programs, but so far the authorities have only pretended to take some steps in this sphere. The information and political commentaries broadcast on Polish Television have been maintained completely in the style of the pre-August system of government and Solidarity has continually been the object of a spiteful, hostile and, most frequently, slanderous propaganda. In recent months the political programs broadcast by Polish Television have led to the growth or even the creation of social tension and have, in fact, endangered the country.

The KKP took the view that the creation of normal conditions for our trade union's access to the mass media would become one of the main ways to ensure stability and social peace. We demanded the right to counter attacks and criticisms directed at Solidarity.

We demanded that we be allowed some time on the air -- in any case, a very small amount of time -- for programs prepared by our trade union. We demanded that special teams be set up within the Committee for Radio and Television Affairs which would concern themselves with matters relating to Solidarity. By the beginning of the congress we have received no concrete proposals relating to this sphere.

The KKP's policy with respect to access to the mass media boils down to the following demand: We want to be able to speak for ourselves about matters concerning us. The trade union cannot desist from this demand. In our struggle for its implementation we have already been forced to resort to strike action and protest activities, albeit on a small scale so far. We have always believed that the best way to resolve the problem is negotiations between Solidarity and the government on the subject of the mass media. At the same time, however, the KKP expresses the opinion that the sooner Solidarity gains access to the mass media, the better it will be for the community.

The trade union is not afraid of criticisms in any form, but we have fought for the right to truth in public communications and we will continue to fight for it.

4. Action Strategy

Both the trade union's program and the forms of its activities have been governed by the needs of the moment and the problems which we have had to resolve. After all, demands put forward during workers' protests represented the main content of the Solidarity program and the entire trade union's action strategy was governed by these demands.

The agreement signed a year ago has ensured for our trade union the right to exist and engage in activities. In already historic documents the authorities promised to show respect for the working people's and the entire community's desire to be able to decide on matters concerning them and to live in a country where law, truth and dignity would be respected. Solidarity accepted with approval and in good faith the undertaking that a policy of dialogue would be pursued and that any problems and conflicts would be resolved through negotiations and agreements. For this is the only way in which the crisis can be overcome and the indispensible reforms implemented without any threat of tragic confrontations between the community and the authorities which would let slip for many years to come our great historic opportunity. Aware of the dangers confronting us, we have adopted right from the beginning the principle of political caution and self-restraint. We have been able to wait patiently and for a long time. We have been able to compromise, abandoning some of our demands and postponing some others.

Even though we realize that dialogue is better than confrontation, the consistent resistance offered by the pre-August system, various forces within the apparatus and the economic and political leadership has repeatedly forced us to resort to the final argument, that is, strike action. However, we have done this on a modest scale because, after all, if we total up all the strikes which have occurred during the past year, we will see that they represent less than 1 working day. We have fought for our most vital rights and the implementation of the main accords signed by the government, and we have defended our trade union against attacks, slanders and abuse of authority. We have sought to exert control over the government's activities, paying attention to whether they were consistent with the fundamental interests of the community and our trade union. In recent weeks we have noticed with concern a systematic return to former methods of exercising power.

The activities of our trade union during the past year have taken place within the framework of three kinds of programs -- a program of demands, a negotiation program and a program for self-managing activities. Within this framework we have carried out our tasks as a trade union and a social movement.

The program of demands was most consistent with the form of the trade union. We have demanded that the commitments contained in the poststrike agreements be implemented and we supported all well-founded demands put forward by individual branches and regions. In support of the interests of the working people we demanded that the material conditions of Polish families be protected. We also demanded an economic reform and democracy and respect for human and civil rights.

The more obvious it became that the government was only pretending to keep its promises with respect to wages and material conditions -- because the total amount of money in circulation with no cover was increasing -- the more emphasis we put on demands concerning changes in the economic and social system since this was the only way to ensure that the well-founded demands put forward by the workers would eventually be conceded and that the promises made by the authorities would in the end be implemented. The government appealed to Solidarity to assume joint responsibility for the authorities' political and economic decisions, thus seeking to shift some responsibility for a deepening crisis and falling standard of living of the population onto our shoulders. We were unable to accept such a role -- after all, we exerted no influence on either the composition of the government or its policy.

In its demands activity our trade union has paid special attention to those of the Gdansk agreements which concerned observance of the law and the right to express one's opinions. We engaged in negotiations concerning a reform of the judiciary and some indispensable changes in the laws in force. Our trade union took the view that imprisonment of people for their opinions was a most painful example of violation of the agreements. The trade union has supported protest actions concerning this matter but has so far been unable to achieve any results.

Right from the beginning we have been in favor of negotiations and, despite some negative experiences, we suggested a program for regular talks. So far we have been unable to create within the framework of our negotiation strategy any mechanisms which would ensure that trade union opinion influences the process of negotiations. The negotiation program has mainly been implemented through concrete and detailed negotiations whose subject was clearly defined and which led to factual settlements.

Our trade union had a program for positive activities right from the beginning. It was impossible to limit our activities to overseeing and stimulating the system of public control over the authorities because the government took no steps to implement a plan for saving the country's economy and to ensure a radical economic reform. The plan for creating workers' self-management which our trade union put forward showed that we were aware that the crisis was rapidly intensifying and that it was necessary to take independent steps to save the country. This was the reason for our assuming control over the management of the food sector in general and the food supply situation in particular. This program for the trade union's activities, which took the form of a KKP appeal on 12 August 1981, was an expression of the belief that in the present situation society must organize itself in order to survive and to ensure that its work is put to good account and that the economy is managed wisely.

We became convinced that we cannot passively watch the gradual disintegration of the national economy. It became obvious that we must take the task of renewal in our own hands and forcefully propose some constructive solutions. We also felt sure that we could rely on the community's trust in us. However, to ensure that our activities have a political chance of being successful, we must ensure, through an agreement with the government, preconditions for setting up some workers' self-managing organizations whose rights are acknowledged by the other side. This means that it is indispensable to agree on a formula for mutual acceptance.

While implementing its successive action programs the trade union has consistently abided by the fundamental principles enshrined in the social agreements. It is mainly a question of wise self-restraint with respect to our demands and of achieving real changes. In the heat of the battle it has occasionally occurred that some trade union circles or organizations have violated this principle but, as far as the trade union's collective activities are concerned, political wisdom has always prevailed when it came to making decisions at the time of major conflicts. It was vital to ensure that we lost none of what we had already achieved and to satisfy the community's demands cautiously in order not to threaten the stability of the country's sociopolitical system while gradually implementing the workers' protests program. We have continually preserved a sense of national responsibility and Polish raison d'etat.

III. KKP Activities

1. The Federal Nature of the Trade Union and the Formula for KKP Activities

The activities of the KKP, as the supreme authority of our trade union, have been a reflection of the work done by the Interfactory Founding Committees [MKZ] which have recently been transformed into regional executives. Even though it has never been written down (nor mentioned in the KKP statute or documents, for instance), the formula for the trade union's federal nature has been confirmed in practice in trade union life, by the methods used in decisionmaking and in the way in which general strategy is determined. During the development of our organization since September 1980 some elements of the process of strengthening the trade union's central authorities have become obvious. However, this trend has mainly been a result of a desire to systematize activities and of the need to ensure that the views of all trade union members on important social, vocational and national problems coincide.

The reasons for which in the course of its activities NSZZ Solidarity has adopted this specific internal structure, which has mainly been based on enterprise commissions and regional executives, are directly connected with the historical context and the political and social situation in which we have had to work. Our organization's security, understood as preservation of its complete independence from the political and administrative authorities; intratrade union democracy with some elements of direct democracy; reorganization of social structures in the name of social justice and the central role of the people and the nation -- these are the values which are being implemented by our trade union and which have ensured that it is not only an institution within the framework of political life but also a large-scale social movement rooted deep in the community. This concept of our role and tasks is bound to lead to the acknowledgement of the paramount importance of the basic structures from which various social activities stem and of initiatives running parallel with the actual hierarchy of authorities. [sentence as published]

The KKP, whose role in the initial months of the trade union's existence was in fact played by the national MKZ conference, is merely the result of an agreement achieved by all regional organizations. It should be emphasized that its authority has ensued, among other things, from this principle of activity as well as from the belief that decisions supported by most KKP members are most effective for trade union activities. The negative features of this formula for the commission's activities became obvious when it became necessary to make dozens of far-reaching political decisions. Lack of effectiveness in the KKP's activities and its inability to take the bulk of both current and long-term problems facing the trade union and society have been a result of the formula for its functioning which, after all, has been determined by the MKZ themselves.

It is also worth emphasizing that even though we could all understand why the commission was entitled to represent the trade union outside -- in its relations with the authorities and other institutions and organizations -- its powers with respect to activities within Solidarity's own structure have never clearly been determined. It is in this complex context that the activities of an institution which combines the features of a trade union parliament with the functions of an executive body should be assessed.

2. The Form of the KKP

The commission was not created at a single stroke. Its creation was a gradual process extending over the entire 1-year period of the existence of the trade union, which has continually been developing new forms of activity in this sphere just as it has in some other spheres.

The initial period of the development of the KKP includes September and October of last year. The Interfactory Strike Committee (MKZ) [initials as published -- usually known by the initials MKS] which was formed in the Gdansk shipyard during the strike period assumed the role of coordinator of trade union work on a national scale. The Gdansk MKZ Presidium made decisions with respect to the registration of other regional trade union executives which were formed later. Once they were registered, their representatives became entitled to participate, first, in national MKZ meetings (the first of which was held on 17 September 1980) and, later, in KKP meetings.

Not only delegates from other regions but also members of the Gdansk MKZ Presidium participated in the KKP's initial meetings, enjoying the same rights as the delegates. Formally, from the moment of the trade union's registration on 10 November 1980, the KKP consisted of the (45) people who signed the act of registration. In practice, however, the MKZ have not always sent those people to KKP conferences, but more frequently authorized some other people to represent their regions. At the same time, since the trade union was registered, representatives of newly created MKZ's continued to become members of the commission.

Fluidity was a feature of the commission's composition. According to information supplied by the KKP Secretariat, 60 percent of the members of the commission were replaced during the 6-month period from January through July 1981 alone. Compared with its composition at the time of the trade union's registration, the relevant proportion is even higher (some 80 percent).

Right from the beginning of the KKP's activities it has been difficult to keep to the agenda either in essence or formally and work out any effective methods of action. On 19 November 1980 it was decided in Szczecin to set up a KKP Secretariat and entrust it, among other things, with the task of duly organizing the commission's conferences. With this end in mind, a working group (the so-called "11") was appointed from among representatives of Gdansk, Szczecin, Jastrzebie, Bydgoszcz, Poznan, Lodz, Warsaw, Lublin, Wroclaw, Krakow and Rzeszow. This body was obviously to play an auxiliary role and have no right to make decisions. Agendas prepared by the "11" required confirmation by the commission. As a result of the team's work, KKP conferences have become more effective. It has become possible to assess and classify problems in advance and prepare proposals with respect to specific subjects (statements, resolutions and so forth) on which the trade union has to express an opinion.

In December 1980 representatives of 55 regions (MKZ and MKR) were members of the KKP. Irrespective of the size of the region which he represented, each delegate had one vote. Demarcation lines among individual MKZs were not precisely determined -- three or even four MKZs were active in one voivodship and enterprise commissions from one voivodship were sometimes registered with often far-away MKZs. It was realized that the trade union's structure was in complete disarray and, consequently, work was begun on its regionalization. As a result of this work, several plans for regionalization were prepared but none of them was approved by the majority of the members of the commission. In the end, a compromise plan which determined only the principles of the regional organization of NSZZ Solidarity was adopted (Resolution 25-81 dated 28 January 1981). As a result of the adoption of this document, it was decided that no voivodship was to be allowed more than one vote. Katowice Voivodship was the only exception. The decision contributed toward an acceleration of the process of merger among the smallest MKZs. The number of fully-fledged delegates to the commission was reduced to 43. As a result, the fact that two or even three MKZ shared one vote forced them to come to terms among themselves and adopt a joint, previously agreed attitude when it came to voting. It became clear, however, that while this resolution helped to determine more precisely the mode of representation of regions in the KKP and the system of voting, it completely failed to put to rights the trade unions' regional organization. This was a consequence of both a serious external situation, which diverted people's attention from internal problems, and the natural inertia of a huge and greatly decentralized organization, and also, undoubtedly, of the regional authorities' ambitions.

Another effort in this direction was made by the KKP as late as Spring 1981 through the KKP Election Committee appointed in April (resolutions 39-41 of 9 April 1981).

On 12 February 1981, at Lech Walesa's suggestion, a provisional KKP Presidium was elected during a conference in Gdansk. This was yet another stage in the process of organizing the trade union's supreme authorities. This was deemed absolutely necessary because the existing situation demanded that decisions be immediately made without waiting for KKP deliberations. The people who had been elected previously -- Chairman Lech Walesa, Deputy Chairman Andrzej Gwiazda and Ryszard Kalinowski -- were unable to deal with all, even some most important, matters. In addition to the three above-mentioned men, the following people were elected to the Presidium: Zbigniew Bujak, Tadeusz Jedynak, Jan Rulewski, Andrzej Slowik and Stanislaw Wadolowski.

Andrzej Celinski became secretary of this team and KKP spokesman Karol Modzelewski also participated in its sessions. In July 1981 Bogdan Lis was coopted onto the Provisional KKP Presidium, and Janusz Onyszkiewicz became press spokesman as from April 1981. The Provisional Commission Presidium met in Gdansk once or twice per week. It also prepared meetings of the NSZZ Solidarity KKP.

3. KKP Work Teams

The KKP appointed from among its ranks various teams which were entrusted with specific tasks. Some of them did not work effectively whereas others functioned more or less efficiently. Sometimes the KKP or its Presidium instructed an MKZ to deal with some specific matter (or problem) authorizing it at the same time to act on behalf of the entire trade union with respect to a particular matter (this occurred in the case of the Bydgoszcz conference on the food situation).

On 7 January 1981 the KKP appointed a commission for the distribution of machinery and printing equipment which had been either purchased or donated (Resolution 8-81). The new commission was to take stock of existing equipment, whether in hand or already distributed, collect requests and distribute machinery, and also to seek to purchase additional equipment. The following people became members of the commission: Andrzej Slowik, Leszek Dymarski and Aleksander Karczewski. It cooperated with the National Bureau External Department, within which a special section was created to deal with these matters. Some differences of opinion arose among the commission's members on the way in which equipment should be distributed and also on the concept of setting up the trade union's own printing works. After looking into the matter the KKP changed the composition of the commission -- H. Wieczorek replaced A. Slowik -- and determined its powers anew (Resolution 56-81 of 27 May 1981). A newly formed commission for publication and printing matters was also to deal with questions relating to the allocation of paper and print for the trade union, the launching of regional weeklies and so forth.

On 9 April the KKP appointed an election team (the National Election Commission) [KKW] under A. Kopaczewski's chairmanship. This team worked for 4 months, determining boundaries between individual regions for electoral purposes, looking into regional election procedures and examining the way in which regional elections were to be carried out in individual regions. On many occasions the KKW acted as mediator between individual MKZs.

In December 1980 the KKP appointed a work team under A. Gwiazda's chairmanship with the task of examining on a day-by-day basis matters submitted by branch and vocational sections and confirming the already existing sections. In addition to A. Gwiazda, Jacek Klys and Bogdan Lis were appointed to this team.

In December the KKP set up a Committee for the Defense of People Imprisoned for Their Opinions and delegated a group of its representatives to it. Later the trade union helped the committee with its activities and with the setting up of similar committees in individual regions.

In February the Solidarity social fund was created. A fund council was appointed. So far the activities of the drugs bank, which has become part of the social fund, and action connected with food aid have been especially effective.

In April 1981, after the so-called Bydgoszcz crisis, a typical horizontal agreement called the network of NSZZ Solidarity enterprise organizations of leading enterprises was achieved within our trade union. Within the framework of the network, cooperation has been established among 15 enterprise commissions from all over the country active in enterprises in which MKZs had provisionally established their quarters during the strike action alert at the end of March 1981. The NSZZ Solidarity KKP has cooperated with the network within the framework of the Polish Academy of Sciences. It has acknowledged the network's role as the trade union leadership's consultative center mainly with respect to problems connected with economic reform, social enterprises and workers' self-management.

4. KKP Agencies

During the winter of 1980 and the spring of 1981 the KKP set up several agencies in Warsaw and Gdansk, including the KKP Secretariat in Gdansk, the external Division in Gdansk, the Center for Sociovocational Work [OPS-Z], which operates in both Warsaw and Gdansk, TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC in Warsaw and the Solidarity Press Information Bureau [BIPS] in Gdansk.

The KKP Secretariat was the first agency set up by the KKP. Grzegorz Grzelak was entrusted with the task of organizing and managing it. Eventually the KKP Secretariat was divided into three divisions. In the Regional Executives Division the current situation in MKZ is analyzed, information connected with MKZ is dealt with and documentation concerning MKZ is collected. In the National Branch and Vocational Sections Division sections are registered, wage and social demands collected and documents governing the activities of branch and vocational sections prepared. The KKP Correspondence and Documentation Division collects documentation relating to the commission and its Presidium and keeps in contact with the main organs of the state authorities (the Sejm, the Government of the Polish People's Republic and individual departments), self-governing organizations and social institutions. All these divisions jointly prepare KKP conferences. Until 10 April 1981 the KKP Secretariat was organizationally part of the MKZ office in Gdansk but, in fact, came under the commission and its Presidium. On 10 April 1981 it was separated from the commission's structure, together with the External Department Division and the newly created Finance and Accountancy Division as well as the BIPS, and became henceforth an integral part of the NSZZ Solidarity National Bureau.

The National Bureau's External Division was organized by Waclaw Korczynski in January 1981. Its duties include: maintaining regular contacts with foreign trade union central organizations and international trade union federations, welcoming and looking after the trade union's foreign guests, dealing with passport and visa formalities for our delegations going abroad, grooming such delegations, gathering information and engaging in research on the subject of the world trade union movement. This division also deals with the technical and organizational aspect of the import and distribution of printing and office equipment and donations in the form of drugs, food and so forth.

In December 1980 the Center for Sociovocational Work, within which experts hitherto helping the trade union have been brought together, was opened. Andrzej Wielowieyski has been appointed the center's manager. Work in the KKP OPS-Z has been distributed among several teams dealing with the following spheres: wages and employment, working conditions, prices, the market, supplies for the population, general economic issues, cost of living and social benefits, economic reform, labor law, constitutional problems, cultural matters and matters relating to customs, the trade union's financial management, trade union affairs and the history of the trade union movement. The KKP was appointed an OPS-Z Programmatic and Consultative Council consisting of 26 members from Warsaw, Gdansk and Lodz. Since 7 February 1981 Assistant Prof B. Geremek has been chairman of the Programmatic and Consultative Council and Assistant Prof W. Chrzanowski and Prof A. Tymowski have been its deputy chairmen. The OPS-Z issues bulletins and publishes brochures describing the results of its work. In April yet another group of experts was set up under the chairmanship of Dr Jadwiga Staniszkis.

In January 1981 as a result of Resolution 2-81, steps were taken to appoint the editorial board of TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC. The KKP appointed Tadeusz Mazowiecki chief editor of that organ. Bogdan Cywinski and Waldemar Kuczynski were appointed deputy chief editors and Krzysztof Wyszkowski became the editorial board's secretary. Since 5 April TYGODNIK SOLIDARNOSC, of which 500,000 copies are printed, has begun to reach trade union members regularly. It has become the main source of information about our organization, representing a high standard of social, legal and economic journalism. The size of its circulation is quite inadequate.

The BIPS has been set up as the trade union's official agency. Since 10 April 1981 it has, in fact, been under the control of the KKP press spokesman, while being at the same time an integral part of the NSZZ Solidarity National Bureau. Arkadiusz Rybicki is its manager.

The BIPS publishes a daily information bulletin, provides a Telex service whose messages are sent out twice a day through a Telex network to all MKZs and many enterprise commissions, and publishes TYGODNIK BIPS which is dispatched to its subscribers and can also be purchased. The BIPS looks after Polish and foreign journalists, issues authorizations for attending meetings of the trade union's leadership, trade union celebrations and other functions and organizes the press conferences of the KKP chairman and the press spokesman. Furthermore, a Radio and Television Division and a Publishing Division are being set up. In addition, a publishing council has been appointed.

5. KKP Decisionmaking Mechanisms

When discussing the question of decisionmaking mechanisms operating in the KKP, the period of the trade union's activities can be divided into two subperiods -- up to and since November 1980. In September and October 1980 the Gdansk MKZ -- or, to be more precise, that MKZ's Presidium -- was the center for decisionmaking with respect to the entire trade union, its members -- Lech Walesa, Bogdan Lis, Alina Pienkowska, Andrzej Kolodziej, Bogdan Borusewicz and Andrzej Gwiazda -- inspired newly emerging regional centers by their activities as well as making daily decisions of a supraregional nature and negotiating with the central authorities. The role played by the Gdansk MKZ was a natural consequence of the state of the trade union's organization in the fall of 1980. The experts of the former MKS and, later, the MKZ and the KKP (T. Mazowiecki, B. Geremek and J. Kuron, among others), whose views achieved considerable importance when it came to determining the trade union's current tactics, were also in Gdansk. Documents written during that period -- mainly statements and communiques -- were jointly signed by the KKP and the Gdansk MKZ. Very frequent meetings (once or even twice per day) represented the typical way in which the Gdansk MKZ Presidium worked. The Presidium used to appoint from among its members either individual people or groups of people to carry out activities decided on during these meetings. This situation began to change in November 1980 after some other big trade unions shifted toward the KKP and the Presidium constituted from among its members. As a result of the creation of the Provisional KKP Presidium in February 1981, the Gdansk MKZ Presidium finally lost its powers as a supraregional decisionmaking center.

During that second period, the trade unions' attitude to specific matters was determined during the KKP's plenary sessions. The KKP made decisions with respect to NSZZ Solidarity's internal organization and, at the same time, was engaged in current activities, thus playing the role of the trade union's executive. KKP meetings and the discussions which took place during them, ending in a formulation of proposals, represented the most important form of the work carried out by the trade union's supreme body. Subsequently, delegates from the regions conveyed agreements thus achieved to their own MKZs or engaged in negotiations with representatives of the state authorities at various levels. The great majority of problems which faced the trade union were finally considered at commission or Presidium meetings. After engaging in long discussions, people who participated in them had often no time or energy left to rapidly finalize any jointly taken decisions and make generally known the concept of the trade union's tactics and strategy which they had worked out.

The first proposal with respect to a division of powers in the Provisional Presidium was submitted by the KKP Secretariat in the spring of the year. This very general plan provided for the following thematic groups within the framework of the work done by the Presidium:

A) Coordination of MKZ activities and KKP intervention in the trade union's regional organizations;

B) Policy with respect to wage and social demands and coordination of the activities of branch and vocational sections;

C) The trade union's international activities;

D) Economic and financial matters and assets of the trade union;

E) Trade union information, propaganda and publications; and

F) Relations between the trade union and the government, the Sejm and other self-governing organizations and social institutions.

However, this division has not been implemented consistently. At the end of July and beginning of August, a rather different division of labor was established -- some individuals were authorized to engage in activities concerning one of the following thematic groups:

A) Market supplies (Jan Rulewski with Bydgoszcz region as a base); B) Economic reform (Andrzej Slowik with Lodz region as a base); C) Wage and social demands (Jacek Klys); D) Contacts with regions (Stanislaw Wadolowski); E) Information (Janusz Onyszkiewicz); F) Observance of the law and Sejm legislation (Zbigniew Bujak with Mazowsze region as a base); and G) The trade union's foreign policy and printing (Ryszard Kalinowski).

The fact that there was no division of powers and that no one was personally responsible for any specific sphere of the trade union's activities should be seen as the reason for the weakness of the trade union's supreme authorities, their ineffectiveness and the lack of consistency in their activities. This state of affairs in the KKP and its Presidium adversely affected the work of the National Bureau and, especially, the KKP Secretariat.

The way in which negotiations with the government were conducted was a separate problem which, however, was connected with the above-mentioned problem of the KKP's decision-making mechanisms. The conflict which arose within the commission immediately after the negotiating team accepted on 31 May 1981 the so-called Warsaw agreement for submission to the KKP was a clear example of the misgivings concerning this problem. During a KKP conference in Gdansk on 1-2 April 1981 [dates as published] it became apparent that some members of the commission seriously opposed the agreement achieved. In addition to reasons of a fundamental nature for this opposition, some reasons of a formal nature emerged, especially the charge that some members of the National Strike Committee had acted arbitrarily when deciding on the matter without asking other members and the entire KKP for their views. During the above-mentioned conference, criticisms of the role played by the trade union's advisers and experts were voiced.

6. KKP and Branch (Vocational) Sections

The problem of branches is a very complex one and has been the subject of many discussions in the trade union. As a result of the pressure exerted on the regional organization, any attempt to build within Solidarity a branch-vocational structure either as a basic structure or as a parallel one to the initial structure was bound to fail. The majority of activists were completely opposed to the concept of a branch structure -- at some election meetings a negative attitude to branches has in fact been the simplest criterion for assessing the suitability of candidates for trade union leadership. Ever since the trade union was created, work has been in progress with a view to adequately working out the status of branch and vocational sections. It was expected that an intersecting structure would be established within whose framework individual trade unionists would be able to participate simultaneously -- through their enterprise organizations -- in a few, or even several, branch and vocational sections whose spheres of activities overlapped. On the other hand, in view of the structure of the state economy and the existence of the sector trade unions, the trade union was obliged to adopt either a positive attitude to branch sections through negotiations or a negative one by banning them. Under the circumstances, a need was felt for a well organized representation of workers belonging to a specific vocational category or kind of enterprise as well as for adequately specialized experts. Hence the concept of sections as consultative and advisory bodies, with no overall powers over specific enterprise organizations, which would merely prepare collective agreements to be submitted to the trade union's leadership for approval.

In practice, the problem of the representation of branch and vocational interests in Solidarity has not yet been resolved. Some regions have, in fact, made it impossible for specific sections to formalize their activities in any way. The registers of regional sections are incomplete, there has frequently been a lack of contact, and sections have often entered into negotiations with the economic management independently of trade union authorities.

In addition, it is absolutely essential to ensure that the coordinating commissions of sections represent all enterprises of a specific branch or all vocational sections in individual enterprise organizations.

Opposition to the development of branch and vocational structures within the framework of the trade union has been a result both of a feeling that this would endanger regional organizations and a desire to equalize opportunities for various branches and trades. It would now be difficult to make any far-reaching decisions in view of the fact that, as a result of the economic reform now being initiated, Poland's economic structure will change to such a degree that the present divisions will loose their importance. However, it is already possible to mention two fundamental problems. First, in addition to branch and vocational divisions, there are some other categories of interests and needs connected with labor which require, just like a vocational or branch section, some adequate organization through some kind of organized consultative and advisory institution.

We refer to the needs of both trade union members who no longer work -- retired people and pensioners -- and people who are, in fact, learning a trade. In addition, there are various social categories of workers -- men and so-called peasant-workers, many of whom are union members, for instance -- who also should be included in some kind of consultation and representation system. The specific nature -- and not only the driving force -- of so-called leading or big enterprises has led to the creation of the "network" which, in fact, is a section of big enterprises consistent with the statutory model. In addition, these enterprises are able to participate in other sections according to the specific branch to which they belong. Therefore, when trade union members talk about "branch and vocational sections," what they in fact should have in mind is both those and some "different" sections.

The first branch sections came into being in Gdansk shipyard as early as August 1980. A need for their operations became very obvious during the period when point eight of the Gdansk agreement relating to increments connected with increased living costs was being implemented. In December 1980, there were already more than 70 sections and in August 1981 there were 145 sections.

During last year (November-December), the KKP spoke out twice on the subject of the place and role of branch and vocational sections in the structure of our trade union. Each time, it stated that they are of an auxiliary and consultative nature in relation to the trade union leadership. The special team appointed by the KKP to verify the status of new sections has stated, among other things, that the rules outline the framework for the branch (vocational) sections' activities inadequately and vaguely and that that framework has become largely obsolete as far as the existing situation is concerned. Therefore, the KKP should determine a general framework for the sections' activities. Furthermore, the team found that many sections had been dealing with similar problems independently of each other and that it would be advisable to create a dozen or so topic-oriented sections. The commission deemed these proposals well-founded and adopted, on 27 May 1981, three documents as a basis for the operations of branch and vocational sections, namely, guidelines for the functioning and creation of sections, draft internal rules and a resolution with respect to topic sections.

During the past year, individual sections have exerted strong pressure on the KKP with a view to securing its approval for a renegotiation of wages and working conditions within the framework of the branches and trades on whose behalf they have acted. Up to August 1981, the KKP had worked out no adequate system for determining a hierarchy of wage claims and social demands with respect to all branches and vocational groups. In the last days of August, the Second National Branch and Vocational Sections Conference was entrusted with this task.

7. Contacts With Other Trade Unions

So far we have established no contacts with any other trade unions, with the exception of the friendly trade unions of individual farmers and artisans. We established sporadic contacts with the Industrial Branch Trade Unions and Autonomous Trade Unions when a joint labor delegation went to an ILO conference in Geneva. Representatives of the Autonomous Trade Unions and the Polish Teachers' Union have participated in several KKP meetings as observers.

It is still too soon to establish calm, partnership relations with other trade unions. As far as the Industrial Branch Trade Unions are concerned, the main difficulty lies in the fact that the problem of the division of the assets which belonged to the Central Council of Trade Unions [CRZZ] and the former trade unions controlled by it and which have very largely remained in the hands of the Industrial Branch Unions has not yet been resolved. Furthermore, we are sorry to say that Solidarity's activities have frequently been attacked by other trade unions. Statements made by some Industrial Branch Trade Unions -- especially at the time when Solidarity was the target of a hostile campaign -- showed that they followed in the footsteps of the CRZZ, which supported the authorities against the working people as a matter of principle.

As an independent and self-governing trade union, Solidarity has gathered together the overwhelming majority of the working people in Poland. However, we firmly support the principle of pluralism in the trade union movement just as we support it generally in public life. Therefore, we duly appreciate the existence of other trade unions and see the possibility of honest coexistence as well as cooperation with them within the framework of the Polish trade union movement. Such cooperation has already occurred in some specific spheres of activity in some enterprises with respect to both social activities and strike action. Willingness to defend the interests of the working people is our only criterion in this sphere, and we hope that conditions will arise for honest cooperation with all trade unions.

8. International Contacts

Since the beginning of its existence our trade union has been a subject of immense interest to foreign opinion in general and trade unions throughout the world in particular. We are aware of the varied nature of this interest and its causes. The moral and natural support which we secured in periods most difficult to us -- beginning with international aid for striking workforces in August 1980 -- was treated by us as an expression of the international solidarity of the working people. No political conditions were attached to this aid. Many delegations from foreign trade unions have paid us visits, and the delegations of the General Council of Japanese Trade Unions and the French Democratic Confederation of Labor [CFDT] were led by their general secretaries. Groups from enterprises and trade union organizations from various other countries also came to see us. We have sought to receive official delegations and trade union groups in accordance with our possibilities. In this way direct contacts have been established and, as a result, some enterprise and regional organizations have already begun an exchange of visits by groups and have established regular ties with foreign trade union circles.

The principles of the trade union's foreign policy have been worked out gradually in the course of specific activities. The KKP has entrusted a specially appointed team with the task of working out the principles and directions of its foreign policy. Assuming that Solidarity is a movement of working people with various political and ideological views, we have sought to establish contacts with all representative trade union centers in other countries without showing any political preference. The KKP has reached the conclusion that during the first, founding period of the trade union's activities we cannot pursue any active foreign policy. Just as in the case of visits by foreign delegations to Poland, the initiative with respect to all visits by Solidarity delegations abroad was taken not by us but by the other side.

The first visit by a Solidarity delegation abroad -- the visit to Italy in January 1981 -- was of a special nature. For it was above all a visit to John Paul II, a Pole on Saint Peter's throne, whose thoughts and blessings have accompanied our movement since the August days.

The Solidarity delegation was later made welcome by three big Italian trade union organizations -- the Italian General Confederation of Labor unions and the Italian Union of Labor. In this way we emphasized pluralism as the principle determining our foreign relations while implementing in practice the principles of international solidarity. Visits by some other delegations from our trade union to Sweden, Japan and Norway maintained a similar spirit. Cordial and friendly relations and cooperation have been established between Solidarity and trade union organizations in France, Italy, Sweden, Japan, Belgium and Britain.

We expect to be able to establish similar relations with other countries. A visit by a delegation consisting of 12 or so of our aktiv members to the CFDT training center in France has been one of the most useful and successful forms of cooperation. The Swedish Trade Union Federation has helped us considerably by opening a bureau for material aid to Solidarity.

The participation of a Solidarity delegation in an ILO conference in Geneva in June this year was of great international significance. The speech made by our trade union's chairman and, more generally, the presence of a Solidarity delegation were deemed to be events of international importance and contributed to the consolidation of our trade union's standing.

As a result of the development of our trade union's international contacts, it became necessary to develop some indispensable organizational work. The Foreign Division of the National Bureau engaged in activities aimed at gathering and preparing materials concerning the foreign activities of trade unions. That division's preparation of information about Solidarity for foreign opinion was less than effective. The Foreign Division failed to coordinate adequately the work done by regional executives in the sphere of international relations. With the exception of the active Foreign Department of the Mazowsze Regional Executive there has been a lack of such specialized sections in the regions.

We have not yet found appropriate forms for ensuring that enterprise commissions and branch sections are able to play a role in international cooperation, even though we deem such contacts most important for the future. These contacts can be expected to help Polish trade unionists to widen their knowledge of the forms of trade union work, problems connected with workers' self-management workforces' participation in the management of the economy and so forth.

Solidarity has also initiated cooperation with international confederations. Our trade union has received considerable help from ICFTU and the World Confederation of Labor, which we have accepted as an expression of disinterested solidarity. On behalf of the entire trade union, the KKP wishes to express to these confederations and the trade unions which belong to them its profound gratitude for their help. Judging from the contacts established so far, it can be expected that bilateral contacts, which are indeed conducive to the preservation of our movement's independence and self-government, will successfully develop.

We have been willing to establish cooperation with the WFTU on a similar basis of bilateral contacts. The significance of contacts with that confederation, of which all trade unions in the neighboring countries are members, is obvious. We hope that such contacts will be established.

We have also established initial contacts with international trade union secretariats, the Metal Workers' Federation, the Postal Workers' Federation and the Teachers' Federation. We believe that it is in the interest of both our trade union and the international trade union movement to extend these contacts.

In its international activities our trade union has been governed by some obvious guidelines, including:

The paramount nature of Poland's national interests, which require that we act in the spirit of just international peace and good relations with the neighboring countries which, however, must be based on the principles of partnership and cooperation entailing equal rights;

Respect for the sovereign rights of all nations;

Implementation of the principles of justice and equality of all nations; and,

International Solidarity among working people.

We believe that all our activities in the sphere of international relations have been governed by these principles and have served Poland's interests well. Accusations made by circles hostile to us that Solidarity has undermined the interests of the Polish state are totally groundless. In the course of our international contacts we have emphasized the point that Solidarity's existence represents a stabilizing factor in Poland's situation and, at the same time, a guarantee of improvement in the Polish economy. In some official statements made by the authorities there have been assertions to the contrary which have distorted the picture of our activities in this sphere. We have opposed any violation of our trade union's independence as well as any attempts arbitrarily to interfere in our activities. We have believed that Solidarity needs no lecturing as far as its sense of national responsibility and its patriotism are concerned.

IV. The State of the Trade Union

In the course of 1 year, our trade union has been transformed from a loose federation of interenterprise founding committees bound together by the principle of solidarity into a strong organization which, after banding together more than 9.5 million members, has become the most powerful social movement in Poland. The carrying out of elections at enterprise and regional levels and the election of delegates to the national congress have been an object lesson in democracy to all of us as well as to the entire community. These elections which, to all intents and purposes, have been the first democratic elections on such a big scale in postwar Poland have strengthened the trade union, making activists feel that they have been acting on behalf of the entire community. They have, furthermore, led to the emergence of thousands of people who are part of a new Poland, people who want to work in support of far-reaching reforms in the country, who have the necessary experience and knowledge to do this and who enjoy public support. In the life of enterprises and regions, they represent the social expression of a consciousness of civil rights which has been restored since August and must ensure everybody's participation in public life in defiance of those who would like to stifle that life through a privileged state apparatus [nomenklatura], censorship and bogus elections. Those people of a new Poland, of whom our trade unions consists, are young, full of reformist fervor and, at the same time, mature as a result of our country's experiences during recent decades. This means that the trade union has become a mint of civic thought and activity.

What are the main features of our trade union's internal life? It seems that there are three such basic features -- democracy, activeness and, simply, solidarity. Despite various threats and crises, the trade union has preserved during the past year these three features which have provided it with power and strength.

Trade union democracy has been assuming a more and more specific form. Not only honest elections and a representative trade union leadership but also other factors such as freedom to voice criticisms within the trade union, the possibility to express -- also in writing -- one's views, the trade union leadership's sense of responsibility and consultations with enterprise organizations have contributed to it. Activity has been exemplified not only by large-scale action on the part of the entire trade union and regions but also by the multitude of different activities, the number of publications, the emergence of various groups and cooperation among vocational and branch coordination commissions and so forth.

Enterprise organizations form the basis of our trade union and we deem our strength to be a result of the activeness of enterprise organizations. Even a most efficiently centralized trade union would have been no substitute, as far as effectiveness is concerned, for the activities of individual enterprise organizations able to fight, either on their own or in cooperation with others, for an improvement in living conditions in their enterprises, regions or some specific sphere of the national economy. So far, democracy, activeness and the solidarity of thousands of enterprise organizations have predetermined the success of our activities, and the link between regional organizations and enterprise organizations has been a matter of crucial importance. We have been able to ascertain this wherever the principle of working contacts with enterprise workforces has been observed, wherever we ensured -- in accordance with our modest means -- a constant flow of information to enterprises, training and the exchange of experience among the trade union's enterprise organizations.

As far as its internal organization is concerned, the trade union had to act in a creative manner. For we lack models for organizations able to create -- in a state with totalitarian ambitions -- any embryo of a new life and withstand the pressure from the forces of the old order. When uniting the working people we opted for the territorial principle, and have seen the trade union as a fusion of regional accords among working people in various trades. Since we had to deal with the administration apparatus as, to all intents and purposes, the only employer, we chose the most logical path, that is, a path leading toward the building of structures uniting all the workers of that employer. This territorial principle has stood the test despite some disputes concerning boundaries which are a consequence of the artificiality of the country's administrative division imposed from above. Both economically weaker and economically stronger regions have found a place within the trade union, sometimes uniting to form organizations with up to 1 million members and, sometimes, preserving their regional separateness.

The trade union's universality has been due to its territorial organization. Among its members our trade union has manual and white-collar workers -- people employed in the commercial sphere and scientists, shipyard workers and physicians. We are able to tackle unaided any problem facing the working community. Manual workers, that is, the people who have taken on their shoulders the burden of the struggle for freedom at crucial moments of our postwar history and who constitute its majority, have remained the backbone of our trade union. The question of an appropriate form of organization consistent with the needs of individual categories of workers is connected with the trade union's universality. Right from the beginning, a certain vagueness has prevailed with respect to the principles governing the activities of the trade union's vocational and branch sections. Nor has adequate cooperation between sections on the one hand and the trade union's regional and national authorities on the other always been ensured. The KKP has adopted a number of resolutions concerning this matter, seeking first to ensure that the implementation of the just demands put forward by individual categories of workers was subordinated to the general principle of solidarity and the entire trade union's policy ensuing from it.

Solidarity is a living organization. Its internal life is not confined to the payment of contributions and to the elections of the trade union's leadership. One year after it was created, our trade union can boast of its own press and its own research centers, teams of experts and workers' universities. The trade union has become a center of independent social, legal and economic thought and independent cultural life. All this remains on a limited scale. Much remains to be done with respect to the quality and efficiency of our information, research and advisory agencies. Performance in this sphere differs considerably from region to region. The variety of independent social activities will undoubtedly demand that this sector of trade union life be developed in the future. However, we are entitled to say that Solidarity's existence has become a crucial fact also on that score. The working masses have secured assess to free thought and creativity. They have also secured the possibility of direct participation in the creation of an independent culture.

V. Final Remarks

During the first year of its existence Solidarity has continually been faced with the following dilemma: dialogue or confrontation with the authorities? As far as the trade union is concerned, the line of dialogue has always prevailed -- occasionally some people in Solidarity have aimed at achieving everything immediately, and sometimes we have let ourselves be drawn into scenarios involving provocation, but the trade union as a whole has acted consistently in a spirit of social accord. It is because of this sense of responsibility for the future of the nation that we have shown patience and accepted compromises at some of the most difficult moments, even though all periods of social calm have been used to intensify attacks against Solidarity and even though the other side's response to our moderation has been an increase in aggressiveness. The list of the government's unfulfilled promises connected with both poststrike agreements and subsequent negotiations is a long one. We have neither forgotten nor will forget what has been promised to us and what we are entitled to.

However, we remember above all that the community has placed great confidence in us, seeing in our trade union a guarantor of a renewal of our country's social life as well as of the defense of the nation's paramount interests. This is why we state most forcefully that we are in favor of social agreement, that we deem a policy of dialogue and negotiations completely possible as a basis for the government-community relationship and that thought for the country's future is our main concern.

We hope that the agreement structure initiated at the end of August 1980 will remain valid and that it will be translated into reality. We realize that there are still some groups of people in the country who are seeking to restore the pre-August 1980 situation. They are afraid of the gust of freedom which our movement has brought as well as of the people's solidarity program on which our trade union has been based, and this is why they are seeking in fact to destroy NSZZ Solidarity. They are responsible for sowing seeds of hatred and violence, but it is unlikely that these seeds will develop in Polish soil. Aware of their weakness, those groups have not hesitated to embark on the path of national betrayal. We wish to state that in our opinion such groups and such aims cannot influence our country's policy. We trust that the words spoken in August 1980 by the representatives of both sides, to the effect that matters concerning our country will be settled among us Poles, will remain the cornerstone of all Polish actions and programs. We trust that our trade union's work for Poland will lead to an honest and loyal partnership with our country's authorities. This is the only way to save the country from a catastrophe. This is absolutely essential at present, and it is the only way to ensure political stability in the future so that Poland ceases for good to be a sick country doomed to making humiliating requests for aid, so that the Polish people are able to realize that the future of their country is in their own hands, and so that civil liberties and self-governing public life are restored.

RAKOWSKI DISCUSSES LOCAL SITUATION, TU TALKS

LD061904 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1800 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Our Lodz correspondent reports that in Sieradz today, a meeting of the voivodship People's Council was attended by Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski, deputy from Sieradz region. The meeting discussed the water supply for rural areas, regulation of water and amelioration schemes, and the activity of water cooperatives. The state of amelioration installations was criticized, which in the typically agricultural Sieradz Voivodship negatively affects agricultural production, as well as animal production.

The council approved an appeal to farmers, workers, and intelligentsia demanding that each one should examine his conscience and judge for himself whether he has given to the community every day even a small fraction of what he would expect for himself.

Next, Deputy Premier Mieczyslaw Rakowski discussed the main trends in government work, and stressed that the main aim of the work is to find a way out of the crisis. However, work discipline continues to deteriorate, output declines, and anarchist attitudes are consolidating, he said. According to the deputy premier, the essential element for finding a way out of the crisis is the policy of accord, for which there is no alternative. The resumption of talks with Solidarity, said the deputy premier, will be possible after the acceptance by the second round of the congress of the program which will define the character of the organization.

CEAUSESCU CABLES EGYPT ON AS-SADAT'S DEATH

AU062059 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 2000 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania sent Susi Abu Taleb, acting president of the Arab Republic of Egypt, the following telegram:

With much sadness and sorrow I learned of the death, following a murderous criminal act, of President Anwar as-Sadat, head of the Egyptian state and close friend of Socialist Romania. In these moments of hard trial for the Egyptian people, I extend to you sentiments of full compassion and most heartfelt condolences, on behalf of the Romanian people and myself personally. In the passing away of President as-Sadat, the Egyptian people have lost an outstanding personality of contemporary political life who carried out consistent actions devoted to creating conditions of peace and tranquillity for his people, attaining a just and lasting peace in the Middle East and establishing a climate of international security and cooperation.

In the spirit of understanding reached during my frequent meetings with President as-Sadat, Romanian-Egyptian relations of friendship and cooperation have broadly developed at all levels. I express the conviction that relations between our countries will continue to expand, for the benefit of both peoples and in the interest of peace and cooperation throughout the world. In sharing the great grief of the friendly Egyptian people, I wish to extend heartfelt condolences and feelings of profound compassion to the mourning wife and family, on behalf of my wife and myself personally -- reads in conclusion the telegram sent by President Nicolae Ceausescu to acting Egyptian President (Susi Abu Taleb).

CEAUSESCU, VERDET GREET PRC LEADERS ON HOLIDAY

AU051320 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Oct 81 p 5

[Text] To Comrade Hu Yaobang, chairman of the CCP Central Committee; Comrade Ye Jianying, chairman of the Standing Committee of the PRC National People's Congress; and Comrade Zhao Ziyang, premier of the PRC State Council, Beijing.

On the 32d anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC we want to convey warm comradely greetings and most sincere congratulations to you, the CCP, the Standing Committee of the National People's Congress and the PRC State Council and to the fraternal Chinese people on behalf of the RCP, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, the Romanian people and on our own behalf.

In implementing the CCP policy, the Chinese people have recorded noteworthy results in their fatherland's socioeconomic development on the road of socialism and are now successfully acting under CCP leadership to achieve the country's multifaceted modernization and to increase the working people's material and cultural living standard.

The Romanian people are following with friendly feelings and rejoice in the successes recorded by the Chinese people since the proclamation of the People's Republic and wish the communists and all Chinese working people new and greater achievements in building the new system.

We want to express the firm conviction that through joint actions in the spirit of understandings agreed upon, the positive relations of friendship and cooperation at various levels between our parties will continue to develop and deepen to the benefit of the Romanian and Chinese peoples and the general cause of socialism, national independence, peace and cooperation on the basis of equality among all peoples in the world.

[Signed] Nicolai Ceausescu, RCP secretary general and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania; and Ilie Verdet, prime minister of the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania

SCINTEIA Marks Anniversary

AU051325 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 1 Oct 81 p 5

[Editorial Article marking the 32nd anniversary of the proclamation of the PRC]

[Text] The Chinese people are celebrating today an event of the greatest importance in their millenary history: the victory of the revolution and the proclamation of the PRC. As a wonderful culmination of the difficult struggle, full of sacrifices, waged by the people's masses under CCP leadership throughout scores of years against the exploitation and domination of imperialism and the exploiting classes, the 1 October 1949 event marked an historically important cornerstone in the people's destiny and the beginning of profound revolutionary transformations which were to radically change the country's political and socioeconomic image. At the same time, the creation of People's China has gone down in modern history as a contribution of tremendous importance for changing the world balance of forces and for the peoples' struggle against imperialism and colonialism and for national and social liberation and for progress and peace.

The Chinese people are welcoming today's holiday with great achievements in all fields of social activity. During those 32 years the PRC has turned into a socialist country with a fully developing economy. Implementing the communist party's policy and facing various difficulties and vicissitudes, the Chinese people have built a powerful industrial base supported by hundreds upon hundreds of metallurgical enterprises, machine-building, chemical and energy plants ensuring the utilization of national riches in the interest of further developing the forces of production and in the interest of the country's general progress. At the same time, extensive work has been carried out to develop agriculture, and education and science have flourished. The activity carried out by the communists and all Chinese people is now aimed at the country's extensive socialist modernization to more forcefully increase the economic and scientific-technical potential and the national wealth and to improve the masses' material and cultural living standard.

The Romanian communists and all Romanian people have followed and are following with fraternal and deep friendly feelings the creative efforts made by the great friendly people and sincerely rejoice at their noteworthy achievements in socialist construction and in the country's multifaceted prosperity.

Promoting a principled policy of developing relations of friendship and cooperation with all the socialist countries, Romania pays great attention to constantly expanding cooperation with the PRC, both at a bilateral -- in the most varied spheres of socialist construction -- and at an international level in the struggle for peace and progress, for democratizing relations among countries and for respecting the peoples' sacred right to shape their own destinies.

Throughout the years, the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the PRC have experienced an upward trend on the lasting basis of the principles of fully equal rights, national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in internal affairs and mutual advantage. Mutually advantageous economic cooperation has expanded and diversified and within this framework the share of production-sharing -- a superior form of cooperation -- has increased and scientific-technical and cultural cooperation has developed.

In expanding Romanian-Chinese cooperation a special role has been played and is being played by the friendly relations between our communist parties and, within this fruitful framework, by the meetings and talks during the visits which Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu has paid to the PRC and the visits paid by the Chinese party and state leaders to our country. Given concrete shape in specific programs with a view to developing relations of friendship and cooperation, those talks have lent our mutual relations great dynamism and efficiency and have established them on a solid and long-term basis and opened up wide prospects for developing them.

In extending fraternal greetings and warm congratulations to the Chinese people on their national day, our party and the Romanian people are firmly convinced that the constantly upward evolution and the further expansion and diversification of the friendly relations and close cooperation at a political, economic, scientific-technical and cultural level and in other fields are fully in keeping with the interests of the Romanian and Chinese peoples and of building the new system in the two countries and in the interest of the general cause of socialism, peace and progress throughout the world.

USSR'S FOREIGN POLICY PRESENTED AT ROUNDTABLE

AU051355 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 4 Oct 81 p 5

[Text] A roundtable was held at the Association for International Law and International Relations (ADIRI) on 3 October during which V.P. Naumov, Dr of history sciences and department chief at the Institute of History attached to the Academy of Sciences of the USSR, presented a paper on the "Program of USSR's Foreign Policy Established by the 26th CPSU Congress."

The event was attended by representatives from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, university educational cadres, research workers and by members of the embassy of the Soviet Union in Bucharest.

CEAUSESCU TALKS WITH ISRAELI AMBASSADOR

AU061955 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1924 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On Tuesday, October 6, President Nicolae Ceausescu received Abba Gefen, ambassador of Israel in Bucharest, at the latter's request.

On the occasion, President Nicolae Ceausescu was conveyed a message on behalf of Menahem Begin, prime minister of Israel.

Next, the sides conducted talks which passed in a cordial atmosphere.

ALGERIAN ENERGY MINISTER NABI VISITS

Meets With Burtica, Andrei

AU061501 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1400 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Comrade Cornel Burtica, deputy prime minister of the Romanian Government and minister of foreign trade and international economic cooperation, today received Belkacem Nabi, minister of energy and petrochemical industries of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, who, as head of a delegation, is visiting our country.

During the meeting, the two sides stressed the positive relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and Algeria and examined opportunities to expand and diversify trade exchange, production-sharing and cooperation in other fields of activity.

The Algerian guest was also received today by Comrade Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs. After stressing the fruitful relations established between the Romanian and Algerian countries and peoples at various levels, the two ministers discussed certain current international political issues.

Meets With Ceausescu

AU061957 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1920 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- President Nicolae Ceausescu received on Tuesday, October 6, Belkacem Nabi, minister of energy and petrochemical industries of the Democratic and Popular Republic of Algeria, now visiting Romania.

The interview occasioned an exchange of greetings between the presidents of Romania and Algeria.

During the interview satisfaction was expressed at the Romanian-Algerian relations of friendship and collaboration as well as the joint wish to expand these relations on multiple planes, especially in power engineering cooperation in production, in other fields of activity, for the benefit of both countries and peoples, of the cause of peace and international understanding. It was considered that the promotion of a broad and equitable interstate economic collaboration could bear positively on the world political climate, on the strengthening of peace, detente and understanding in the world.

The need was stressed for intensified efforts by the developing countries, by all the states for a policy of collaboration and respect for national independence, for a political, negotiated settlement of all litigious issues, for eradicating underdevelopment and building a new world economic order which should ensure the free, self-reliant development of all nations.

The interview passed in a cordial, friendly atmosphere.

PLO'S KHALID AL-FAHUM VISITS, INVITED BY GNA

Arrives 5 Oct

AU061041 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0940 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- Khalid al-Fahun, chairman of the Palestine National Council, arrived in Bucharest on a friendly visit at the invitation of the Grand National Assembly, on October 5.

At the Otopeni Airport, the guest was welcomed by Nicolae Giosan, chairman of the Grand National Assembly, by other officials.

Khalid al-Shaykh, permanent representative of the Palestine Liberation Organization in Bucharest, attended.

Giosan Receives Al-Fahum

AU061247 Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian 1100 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Chairman of the Grand National Assembly [GNA] Nicolae Giosan today met with Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Council. The sides expressed satisfaction with the good relations of friendship and solidarity between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples. The guest conveyed to the Romanian people and parliament deep gratitude for the support extended to the Palestinian people's struggle for a just and lasting peace in the Middle East.

The GNA chairman briefed the guest on aspects of the Romanian parliament's activities and interests. The two sides emphasized the common determination to expand and deepen bilateral relations, in the interests of both peoples, of the cause of peace and understanding among nations, and of cooperation and progress in the world.

Andrei Receives Al-Fahum

AU062121 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1940 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- On October 6, Stefan Andrei, minister of foreign affairs, had an interview with Khalid al-Fahum, chairman of the Palestinian National Council.

During the interview stress was laid on the relations of friendship and cooperation between Romania and the Palestine Liberation Organization, between the Romanian and Palestinian peoples those good relations being grounded on the understandings covenanted during the talks between Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP, and Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the Executive Committee of the Palestine Liberation Organization. In that context the wish was reiterated to deepen the collaboration and friendship between the two peoples, for the mutual benefit, for the benefit of peace and collaboration worldwide.

Current international questions were also approached especially those related to the establishment of a global, just and lasting peace in the Middle East which should lead to Israel's withdrawal from the territories occupied after the 1967 war, to the settlement of the Palestinian people's issue on the basis of respect for its right to self-determination, to its own independent state included.

BALKAN TOURIST BODIES CONVENE IN BUCHAREST

AU061407 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1155 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The 14th conference of official tourism bodies of the Balkan countries, participated in by delegations of Bulgaria, Greece, Yugoslavia, Turkey and Romania, started in Bucharest on October 4.

It analyzes the evolution of relations in tourism among the Balkan countries, with measures having to be established for the development and further diversification of tourism, in the spirit of the multilateral accord of tourist collaboration in the Balkans, concluded in Bucharest, in May 1971, by the five participating countries.

Besides, the ninth session takes place in Bucharest of the association of travel agencies of the Balkan countries.

FOOD SHORTAGES 'BLAMED ON INEFFICIENCY, HOARDING'

AU061018 [Editorial Report] The Romanian press recently began featuring articles and reports on food supplies and market conditions, mostly at local level. Some cite figures concerning deliveries of vegetables, fruit, meat and other staples to markets and retail outlets and generally present a positive picture, while others focus on shortages, which are blamed on inefficiency, lack of organization and hoarding.

Thus, SCINTEIA of 1 October carries on pages 1 and 2 a 1,000-word feature composed of two reports from Bistrita-Nasaud and Vaslui with the heading "Sufficient Goods and Appropriate Conditions for Smooth Supplies." The reporters supply figures in support of the statement that "food supplies are generally satisfactory," while "marketing requires improvements in certain towns or areas."

The same SCINTEIA issue carries 600-word and 400-word reports on page 2 from Bucharest stating that although foodstuffs are delivered in sufficient quantities, shortages are sometimes created by "excessive hoarding" and by the fact that prime-necessity goods are misappropriated and channeled out of the city. The reporters give names of people who were stashing away products such as sugar, oil and flour for their own use or for reselling them at high profit.

ROMANIA LIBERA on 2 October carries on page 5 a 1,500-word article by I. Butnaru entitled "The Sin of Greed". After citing figures on foodstuffs delivered to Bucharest stores and markets, it proceeds to give names of persons engaging in profiterring or buying up large quantities of corn, flour, bread, potatoes and rice to feed livestock outside Bucharest, or sugar and fruit to make alcoholic beverages which are then sold at black market prices. In view of such negative phenomena, "militia bodies and working people's control teams" have been checking on food stores and markets, as well as on the main routes of access to Bucharest and train and bus stations, in a bid to stop such abuses.

Bucharest SCINTEIA on 3 October on page 2 carries a 900-word article by Vasile Baran entitled "A Personal Grocery Store," dealing with the author's "neighbor" who practically filled up his apartment with foodstuffs which he then used to sell at profiteering prices.

Bucharest ROMANIA LIBERA on 3 October carries on page 3 a 1,500-word article by Anton Uncu, "The Road to Waste Goes Through Railway Stations, Too," dealing with the situation at three train stations dealing with freight in Bucharest, where he found that goods, chiefly potatoes and onions, cannot be unloaded and further delivered fast enough due to inefficiency and lack of machinery and facilities, but also to the fact that far greater quantities are being delivered to Bucharest markets this year than in past years. In summary, the author states his findings: "Bucharest does indeed have a problem concerning potato and onion supplies, but it is not as serious as is suggested by panicmongers and people who just love improvised food stores on their balconies and cannot get used to the idea of balanced supplies. The problem is not shortage, but excess." "In the past 30 days 2-3 times more potatoes were delivered to Bucharest markets than in previous years; in a few days there will be a storage space crisis, as train cars full of potatoes continue to arrive." Moreover, the fast delivery pace imposed by that false sense of emergency causes quality to suffer. In short, the author concludes that it is this "unexpected and illogical buyer demand" that causes shortages of potatoes in Bucharest, rather than an actual lack.

In the same ROMANIA LIBERA issue, I. Butnaru writes on page 3 a 1,000-word article on "Irregularities Which Open the Door to Profiteering." On a visit to a Buzau market he noted first of all improvements, but also irregularities such as no prices posted for vegetables and fruit in great demand, with the result that some stalls sold at prices far above official norms; more than half of the sellers had no "producer papers attesting to the legal source of their goods" -- in other words, they were reselling produce at higher prices. The author adds that although the market authorities did try to stop the profiteering and to check on the sellers, the latter "simply chased away the official control people," and despite complaints, the municipal people's council did nothing to correct the situation.

SCINTEIA on 4 October on page 2 carries 1,500-word photoreportage from the Unirii market in Bucharest, noting that deliveries should amply cover demand, but also inefficiency at some state-run stores and shortages caused by faulty transport arrangements. The reportage also presents the case of a person who bought up hundreds of kilograms of choice grapes, in collusion with the salesman, to make wine at home, where he also "happened" to have a wine press.

ENERGY GOALS INCLUDE SOLAR, THERMAL, WIND SOURCES

AU061045 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0900 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 6 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The progress of the Romanian economy has been accompanied by the increase and diversification of power generating stations. The electricity output has grown about 32 times in the last 30 years and the installations for the generation, transfer and distribution of electricity have developed accordingly, as part of the national grid.

As regards the structure of thermal electric energy production, one can notice a rise in the share of low-rank coal and a reduction of the consumption rate. A vast programme of measures is being applied in all sectors, aimed at a rational and efficient utilization of electrical and thermal energy.

The harnessing of the country's waterpower is to increase from about 30 percent in 1980 to 45 percent in 1985 and to 65 percent in 1990. By the year 2,000, Romania's entire water power is to be put to use. Special stress is laid on the intensified use of low-grade fuels (coal and oil shales), through the building of thermal electric power plants based on these fuels alone, as well as through the gradual shift of hydrocarbon-fueled electric plants to solid fuel, which will raise their share from the present 30 percent to 50 percent in 1985.

In order to save fuel and reduce hydrocarbon consumption for house heating, hot-water heating will mainly be expanded. A special place will be held by the building of nuclear electric stations which will make a significant contribution to the country's energy balance.

Another goal is the capitalization of new sources of energy, such as thermal water. For that purpose, we are improving the technologies of collecting and turning to good account solar energy, as well as those for its direct conversion into electricity. Intense research is being conducted for the utilization of wind energy, for the biological transformation of carbon dioxide and of the biomass into fuel, and for the production of biogas from organic waste. Studies are being completed on the processes of geological formation of hydrocarbons, for their accelerated reproduction, and more research is being undertaken for obtaining hydrogen from water.

FIRMS INVOLVED IN MINING PROJECTS ABROAD

AU052100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1830 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Text] Bucharest, 5 Oct (AGERPRES) -- The Romanian-Chilean "Coemin Ltd" joint production company carries on works for tapping and turning to advantage polimetal ores at Zappallar. The results so far are appreciated by the Chilean partner, a fact also reflected in the expanded activity of the society which also handles the working out of technical-economic surveys for the exploitation of the above-mentioned deposit, which is estimated at some 180,000 tons of ores extracted and processed annually. The Romanian partner delivers to this end the necessary equipment for the ore treatment and gives technical assistance through specialized cadres.

Romania has set up with many other countries joint production companies streamlined on mining. Since we were speaking of the Latin-American Continent, we should mention the fruitful activity unfolded by the joint Romanian-Peruvian "Antamina" company. It makes geological tapping and technological tests for the turning to advantage of the copper and zinc deposits in Antamina, makes surveys of feasibility for the exploitation of the above-mentioned deposit at a rate of 10,000-20,000 tons per hour.

In another part of the world, in Africa, the joint Romanian-Mozambican "Mokambo" company turns to use through complex works a large copper deposit. The joint Romanian-Burundi company "Somiburom" is meant to turn to advantage caolin resources, the "Somina" joint company (Morocco) handles the exploitation, processing and marketing of the copper extracted from the deposits of Ouansimi and Talaat N'ouamana. The joint company "Besaminco" carries on activity in Tanzania, making geological prospecting and feasibility surveys for the turning to use of beach sand containing various heavy metals.

Besides joint production and marketing companies, Romania contributes to tracing and turning to advantage deposits, for her partners, under contracts of cooperation concluded by the "Geomin" specialized foreign trade company. Included in this category are the works done by Romanian experts in Federal Germany for the assembly of equipment in coal pits; in Tunisia -- the delivery of blueprints and equipment for phosphate exploitation and technical assistance given in the execution of a phosphate transport line at M'rata; in Tanzania -- the working out of preliminary studies for the building of a mining-metallurgical combine at Liganga; in Kenya -- researches for the exploitation and preparation of lead ore at Kinagoni.

Cooperation ventures in mining were or are about to be made final by Romanian experts together with autochthonous experts of such countries as Algeria, Egypt, Syria, Libya, Iran, the Yemen Arab Republic.

MUSLIM INFLUENCE NOTED IN ATTACK ON AS-SADAT

'Muslim Brothers'

LD061800 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1642 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- Egyptian President as-Sadat, it has been learned, succumbed to wounds this afternoon in a Cairo hospital where he was taken after today's attack on him. Under the Egyptian Constitution, Vice-President Husni Mubarak automatically takes the post of head of state. An emergency cabinet session is still in progress.

The attack on President as-Sadat was carried out today as he was reviewing the military parade marking the eighth anniversary of the 1973 war against Israel. While vehicles were passing in front of the stand, an armoured vehicle stopped and fire was opened from the vehicle. According to eyewitnesses, a group of several soldiers opened fire at the stand. They were then joined by a number of other soldiers who also opened fire.

Reports are that in the attack Egyptian Defense Minister Muhammad 'Abd al-Halim Abu Ghazalah and Capt Patriarch Samuilo, as well as a number of others present, were injured.

The president's security men fired at the attackers; As-Sadat was immediately taken by helicopter to a Cairo hospital.

Reports are that the so-called "Organization for the Liberation of Egypt" has issued the statement claiming that its members carried out the attack on President as-Sadat.

It is evident that a rebellion in the army which did not remain immune to the wave of religious fanaticism, particularly the influence of the Muslim brothers, is involved. The Muslim brothers had taken much deeper roots in the army than As-Sadat was aware when he ordered the recent purge.

Reports were lately heard in Cairo that numerous arrests were carried out in the army and that a number of officers were court martialed.

Since the signing of the peace treaty with Israel in 1979, and even from the time of As-Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977, there was talk in Cairo of several attacks on President as-Sadat either being prepared or having been attempted.

The latest attack is the consequence of a revolt and dissatisfaction in the army, but, it is also the result of the growing influence of the Muslim brothers and Muslim fundamentalists who oppose the peace treaty with Israel.

Regime's Stability Questioned

LD062058 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1817 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Cairo, 6 Oct (TANJUG) -- TANJUG correspondent Miroslav Visnijic reports that President as-Sadat's assassination today has intensified the inevitable question present here for months: How stable is in fact the regime after As-Sadat's September settling of accounts with the opposition, primarily the Muslim brothers who merely had their wings clipped by the arrests of their prominent activists.

As-Sadat is the second Egyptian president to be shot at, as supposed, by Muslim brothers. 27 years ago, in the same way as today, the Muslim brothers also fired shots at late Jamal 'Abd an-Nasir.

In keeping with the Egyptian Constitution, Egyptian Vice President Mubarak has automatically taken over the duty of the president.

He immediately called an extraordinary session of the government and the top state leadership in order to decide on the steps to be taken. Peace and order in the country have not been disturbed so far, and, suppositions are, the government will now focus its attention on the army, for the assassins who call themselves "the Organization for the Liberation of Egypt" came from the armed forces ranks and were very well organized.

It should be noted that Husni Mubarak, now in the function of the head of state, has just returned from a visit to Washington where he was on a mediatory mission in an effort to smooth the relations suddenly grown cool between Cairo and Washington, in consequence of As-Sadat's settling of accounts with the opposition last month and the dissatisfaction of Reagan's administration with this.

The peace in Egypt and As-Sadat's peace with Israel are in doubt. Will the new head of state continue to follow on As-Sadat's road remains to be seen. In any case Mubarak's recent visit to Washington should serve as a certain guarantee that the pursuance of the same road will be continued.

KAMPUCHEA'S SIHANOUK ARRIVES ON 4-DAY VISIT

LD051654 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1632 GMT 5 Oct 81

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 5 Oct (TANJUG) -- Prince Norodom Sihanouk, accompanied by his wife Princess ique, arrived in Belgrade this afternoon. As guest of the SFRY Presidency he will stay i Yugoslavia 4 days.

At Belgrade Airport Prince Norodom Sihanouk and his wife were welcomed by Misa Pavicevic, member of the Council of the Federation, and his wife, Dragomir Petrovic, assistant federal secretary for foreign affiars; and Veluko Velasevic, chief of protocol of the SFRY Presidency.

Prince Sihanouk will have talks with Cvijetin Mijatovic, a member of the SFRY Presidency. During his stay in Yugoslavia he will also meet other Yugoslav leaders to exchange views on current international problems.

ZAMBIAN DEFENSE MINISTER BEGINS FRIENDLY VISIT

LD042206 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2039 GMT 4 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 4 Oct (TANJUG) -- Zambian Defense Minister WM Chakulya arrived in Belgrade this evening. Minister Chakulya heads a delegation of the Zambian Armed Forces on a friendly visit to Yugoslavia.

During the stay in Yugoslavia, the guest from friendly and non-aligned Zambia will tour a number of Yuglsav armed forces units and institutions and conduct talks with ranking Yugoslav people's Army officials.

MOJSOV CABLES HONECKER ON GDR NATIONAL DAY

LD061720 Belgrade TANJUG IN English 1627 GMT 6 Oct 81

[Text] Belgrade, 7 October (TANJUG) -- President of the Presidency of the League of Communists of Yugoslavia Central Committee Lazar Mojsov has expressed satisfaction with the successful development of relations and cooperation between Yugoslavia and the German Democratic Republic and between the League of Communists of Yugoslavia and the Socialist Unity Party of Germany (SED). In today's telegram of felicitations to SED's General Secretary Erich Honecker on the occasion of the 32nd anniversary of the GDR national holiday, Mojsov said he hoped that relations and cooperation would continue to be promoted.